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Assimilative Mechanisms in Late 19th Century Hungary: The History of a Romani Settlement

András Tapolcai

This article describes and analyzes the various mechanisms of assimilation utilized by Archduke Habsburg Joseph in his efforts to settle nomadic Roma on his estate at Alcsut, Fejér county, Hungary, from 1891 to 1893. These mechanisms included housing the Roma in cottages, utilization of their labor force in agricultural work, and educating them in the school established by the archduke at Alcsut. The settlement was terminated at the beginning of 1893 for economic, political, and social reasons. This case study supports the necessity of involving the Roma in political and economic decision-making processes, and incorporating them in the formulation of social scientific work in the current Hungarian context.

Following the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 (often considered to be the act which established the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), Hungary went through a period of very contradictory liberal capitalistic development. While within the interregional division of labor of the monarchy, Austria and the Czech lands followed a more industrial path, Hungary remained the principal agricultural producer. Hence its developing industry was largely connected to agriculture. This characteristic of Hungarian development meant the maintenance of numerous feudal traditions in production although, as we will see, in some case the feudal economic framework was filled with a more capitalistic content. Another important change was the increasing economic-political significance of the state. The state played a crucial role in Hungarian industrialization through its investments. The state was also instrumental in the organization of a more capitalistic national

András Tapolcai, a sociologist, is a research fellow at the Mónus Illés Academy in Budapest and teaches at Daniel Berzsenyi College in Szombathely, Hungary. He is currently a visiting fellow at the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science at the New School for Social Research (65 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003), conducting ethnographic fieldwork among the Roma in New York.

division of labor, primarily through its efforts to develop an infrastructural network. In the new economic structure of the country, the state was intended as the central coordinating body of interregional cooperation.¹

The new trends in the national division of labor (the construction of a hierarchic structure with regional centers for organizing and controlling local production as well as regulating people's lives) meant that all forces of production were supposed to have well-defined economic functions. In such a structure, groups of nomadic Roma,² who had arrived in Hungary after the abolition of slavery in Romania in the mid-1850s, were considered deviant. Their specific economic role (small volume handicrafts production, smithery, fortune telling, entertainment, and so forth) and their method of working (considered to be "undisciplined") were not tolerated by the state administration and local authorities. They remained the masterless people of Hungarian society. The official reactions to their presence and activities can be described as punitive-restrictive interventions carried out by the authorities. Captured Roma were incarcerated, their carriages and horses confiscated. Some were "sent back" to their "place of origin," often the neighboring county. Overall, it can be stated that the aim of these interventions was to eliminate the presence of nomadic Roma in Hungarian social life. There were no analyses of their marginal economic position, which had been worsened by capitalistic methods of production; no suggestions about how to integrate them economically or socially were proposed. The punitive actions did not improve the situation, they signified only short-term solutions.

I will focus on a settlement which embodied another kind of approach to the nomadic Roma. Instead of taking a punitive attitude toward them, it took an assimilative and educative one. The settlement was established on the latifundium of the Habsburg Archduke Joseph in Alcsut, Fejér county, Hungary, between the summer of 1891 and early 1893 (Szűry 1893). The archduke was a well-known ethnographer of his time. He wrote and published several works on the life and culture of the Roma (Joseph and Wlislöcki 1895 is the most important). As a member of the reigning royal family he had large estates throughout the country. He was well aware of the limitations and failures of the punitive official methods of the state. In his articles the archduke argued for the necessity of convincing nomadic Roma in their own language of the importance and usefulness of sedentary life "for the sake of civilization" (see, for instance, Joseph 1893a). This, combined with his resources and knowledge of Romani culture, prompted him to attempt to settle approximately 300 nomadic Roma on his lands in Alcsut. Before getting to the details of the history of this settlement, I will briefly describe the structure of the Alcsut estate itself.³

At the beginning of the 19th century, when the archduke's family purchased the latifundium, it was extremely underdeveloped, with minimal agricultural

production, a few hundred sheep, and no infrastructure to speak of. In the few decades prior to the settlement effort, it had become one of the most developed centers of capitalistic agriculture, with a significant infrastructure and highly organized production. The use of machinery in agricultural production became common. Pipelines were built for irrigation. Small industrial plants, such as mills, were constructed. Other modern institutions, such as a savings bank, were established. Roads connected the different parts of the estate to one another as well as to the main roads of the region. The archduke also established a post office at Alcsut and the different parts of the latifundium were connected by telephone with the central office of the head overseer. Economic decisions were made on the basis of scientific research. For instance, the central board of managers of the archduke's estates proudly claimed that the actual density of cattle at Alcsut equaled that which agricultural experts deemed possible. The main coordinator of production was the head overseer of the latifundium whose rights, duties, and responsibilities transformed the feudal tradition into a capitalistic one. He was responsible for direct economic decisions (for example, construction, innovations, new investments, and large-scale purchases), he supervised the accounts, he decided on new appointments on behalf of the archduke. He was the head of the strengthened bureaucracy of the estate but he was also responsible to the archduke for the activities of the employees. At the beginning of the 1890s Adolf Libits held this very important position.

A "national" hierarchy can also be discovered at the latifundium. Despite the variety of different nationalities among the inhabitants,⁴ all of the higher managerial positions were held by Hungarians. In his policy of "Hungarianization," the archduke also used cultural means, such as the schools he established and the educational activities of vicars, priests, and nuns on his lands.

The first Romani families to be settled by the archduke were those whose horses had been taken away by the local authorities in Alcsut (Szűry 1893).⁵ The archduke had a few huts of straw built for these families. He then did the same for other Roma who had received similar official treatment in the area. After a few weeks, the "final" dwelling places of the settled Roma were ready—mud-brick cottages. This was a clear attempt by the archduke to influence the traditional way of life of the Roma, by making them move into cottages.

According to Szűry the settlements began in August 1891. As an ethnographer, the archduke knew that historically the Roma lived in enclosed quarters only during the winter months and lived in tents for the rest of the year.⁶ He set out to change this tradition, to restrict the movement of the Roma, and to accustom them to sedentary life, by making them move into the cottages during the summer. The

internal structure of the cottages built for the Roma resembled those of non-Romani Hungarian peasants and servants, with a common kitchen in every two-family cottage, with separate rooms for each family. According to the archduke, traditional Romani cottages did not have separate kitchens and only one family lived in each cottage; each cottage had a single room and part of that room was used as a kitchen (Joseph and Wlislöcki 1895).

The reaction of the Roma to these cottages indicates that the archduke's actions were viewed as efforts to restrict and assimilate. Many Roma resisted by refusing to move into the cottages. Some spent even cold, chilly nights in their traditional tents. The archduke also describes the resistance of the Roma.

When the cottages were ready, no one wanted to move to the last one, saying that the bad ghost, the ruvanus, stays there at night.... In another case they were afraid of the ghost of the earth, the phuvus, who, they said, dwells in a deep hole next to their cottages. I had the hole covered up. Then they were afraid of the frogs and snakes coming out of the nearby stream because the nivasis, the water ghosts, are hiding in those animals. I pointed to the mountains and forests surrounding the cottages, stating that the good ghosts living there, the kheslis, will protect them, but finally I had to let them live in their tents (Joseph 1893b).

These cases show how the Roma used their beliefs as a means of cultural resistance. The story also shows how sophisticated the archduke's assimilative strategy was. He reacted to the Roma's fears of the water ghosts seriously, by referring to other Romani mythological figures. He assured them that the kheslis would protect the Roma from the nivasis. He used their cultural beliefs to try and convince them to move into the cottages. Yet ultimately the resistance of the Roma was stronger, for eventually they were allowed to stay in their traditional tents.

At the very beginning of the settlement the owner of the latifundium announced that the Roma living there would receive no aid, but would be paid wages for regular work. Apparently the Roma accepted this without significant resistance. The real problem was the type of work they had to do. They were supposed to provide assistance to agricultural work, which these nomads were not accustomed to doing. Although different Romani groups engaged in different economic activities, men were mostly smiths, coppersmiths, tool makers, repairmen, horse dealers, musicians, or entertainers; women were healers and medicine dealers, fortune tellers and midwives. Some of the Roma settlers initially had injuries, pains, and other health problems, and some tried to avoid work. At the same time, the archduke also employed them as smiths, one of their traditional occupations. As he reported, "They transformed old tools into excellent drills, they made chains, nails, and other useful things for the estate from scrap metal" (Joseph 1893a). Despite the positive results of this kind of employment, the archduke did not try to establish a more integrative structure of the Roma's economic occupation. Instead he continued to

employ them in agricultural work “with an iron hand and consistent force” (Joseph 1893a).

The tension between Romani and non-Romani workers was heightened by the fact that every employed Rom received 50 *krajcárs* a day for their work. This was a fairly good salary at Alcsut, where, depending on the season, men made 40-100 *krajcárs* a day, women’s wages were 35-60 *krajcárs*, and employed children received a daily amount of 25-35 *krajcárs*. At the same time the question of salaries was a complex one. If the archduke had paid less money to the Romani workers they might have been dissatisfied. In a short time they might have left Alcsut claiming that they had to do work to which they were unaccustomed for little money.⁷ Thus the archduke had to make a choice. It seems clear that, in order to implement even a low level of assimilation, he had to pay higher salaries to the Roma.

The working Roma were directly supervised by the young *vajda* in Alcsut, György Kolompár Lakatos. He was a Rom. It is not clear whether he was elected by the Romani community or appointed by the leadership of the estate to direct the Romani workers. However, we do know that the *vajda* had very close relations with the family of the estate’s chief overseer, Adolf Libits. The archduke published an article in the journal *Kalotaszeg* about an accident in which runaway horses drawing Libits’ sleigh were stopped by the Kolompár Lakatos family. Because of this the young *vajda*’s family gained the overseer’s gratitude (Heiczinger 1978). Another piece of evidence which indicates that the young *vajda* might have been an “agent of assimilation” appointed by the non-Romani leadership is the fact that his wedding was conducted according to the Catholic rite.

A photograph was taken at the wedding (Thewrewk 1893: 133; see Figure 1). The mere fact that the couple was married according to the Catholic rite seems an important assimilative achievement. In the Romani tradition couples were married under the direction of the leader of the group or the eldest man in the *kumpania*. The *vajda*’s example was not followed by others, although there was another Romani wedding at the settlement. It is possible that the second wedding also involved the family of the *vajda*; the couple were András Kolompár and Vica Lakatos.

It is useful to analyze the *vajda*’s wedding from other viewpoints as well. To simplify, it can be stated that there was a dual structure in the nomadic Romani culture. On the one hand, the Roma passed their traditions from generation to generation mostly in oral form. On the other hand, because of their frequent encounters with other cultures, certain elements from those cultures, such as words, were transferred to and became fixed in the Romani culture. The reason behind this is also dual. When different cultures coexist, some cultural exchange is natural; it is understandable that certain elements from one are transferred to and fixed in the second culture. However, generally speaking, there is another more specific reason for the ability of the Romani culture to integrate non-Romani elements. Since they

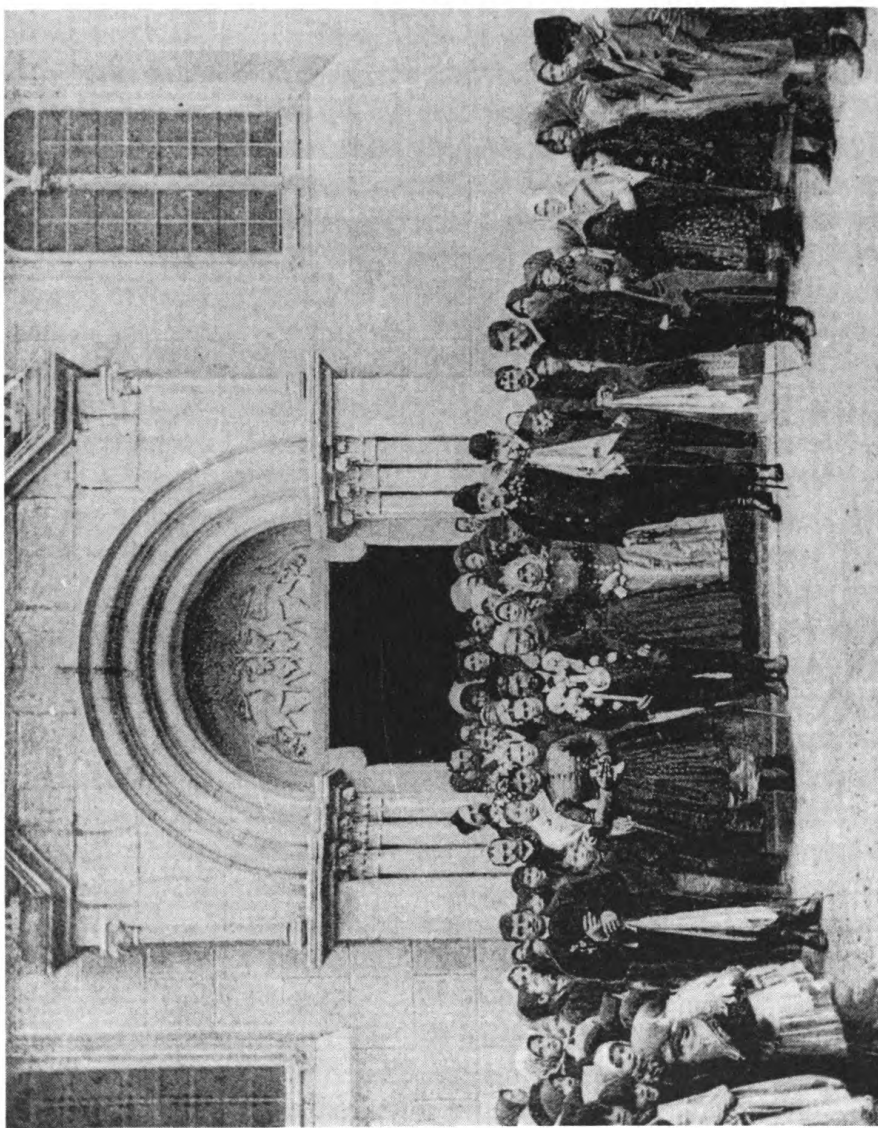


Figure 1
Wedding of the vajda György Kolompár Lakatos at Alcsut (from Thewrewk 1893).



Figure 2
Wedding of András Kolompár and Vica Lakatos at Alcsut (from Thewrewk 1893).

lived in diasporas under almost constant threat from the majority, the Roma needed tolerance from their social environment. One of the ways to guarantee their safety was to show some assimilative attitudes and to integrate some ritual and ceremonial elements into their habits. Romani weddings, for instance, often were performed by a representative of the dominant religion of the region to establish the symbolic protection of the Roma. Hence the wedding at Alcsut can be seen simultaneously as an assimilative achievement as well as a result of the coexistence of cultures and the strategies of survival utilized by the Roma.

Figure 1 shows the couple wearing clothes resembling those worn at non-Romani peasant weddings. The bride holds a bunch of flowers in her hand, the groom holds a long candle. In the picture we also see the archduke himself, as “the best man, in civilian clothing, wearing boots, with the special stick in his hand” (Thewrewk 1893:135). His central location and his function as the best man emphasize the directing and supervisory elements of his presence. A photograph was taken at the second wedding as well (Figure 2; Thewrewk 1893:137). The structure of this picture is quite different from the first. The archduke, seen on the left, could be an ordinary observer, although the stick on his shoulder, a symbol of power, is still noticeable.

Another important element of cultural assimilation was the Romani school established by the archduke at Alcsut. In this institution “pupils from 6 to 15 years old studied together. They were smart and small awards and favors induced some competition among them” (Joseph 1893a). The faculty was headed by Catholic Chaplain András Rácz and consisted primarily of priests and nuns. According to the archduke, “especially singing and the recitation of poems were done well, they could learn even longer poems and texts by heart in a short time” (Joseph 1893a). It is unclear what kind of poems and songs were taught but, knowing who the teachers were, it is probable that the pupils learned religious works as well as others. This would mean that the school was the site of another ideological intervention, this one with the support of the Catholic church. We do not have any concrete information regarding the other subjects students were taught. However, we do have an account by Szűry from which we can draw some tentative conclusions about the curriculum.

The male members of the groups slowly agreed to the principle that their kids, besides making mud bricks, should learn spiritual training from the vicar as well as reading and writing. However, the women were stubborn and they kept wondering why their little kids needed any knowledge of the ABC. Finally, because they thought that if their mentor thinks it is necessary, it is necessary, they sent their children to the school (Szűry 1893).

It seems obvious that the settled Roma were not eager to send their children to the school. The reason for their hesitation may be found in their nomadic way of

life. As members of a mobile community conducting particular economic activities, they needed fundamentally different kinds of knowledge than their sedentary non-Romani or Romani counterparts. The subjects taught at the school did not have any real significance for their value system. However, in this case the archduke's will was stronger; with much hesitation, the Roma sent their children to the school in order to avoid conflicts with the archduke.

The young vajda's fate can be interpreted as one of the first signs of the disintegration of the settlement. He was highly unpopular among the Roma; a number of quarrels and fights occurred between him and other members of the group. This also may confirm the earlier suggestion that he was an appointed "agent of assimilation" rather than an indigenous leader. Finally the archduke dismissed him because of the problems; his dismissal may be a further sign that he was an "employed," rather than an elected, leader. The young vajda moved with his wife to Székesfehérvár, the seat of Fejér county, and later on to Pozsony (today Bratislava in Slovakia) where he was arrested and incarcerated.

The archduke employed Mátyás Lakatos as the new leader of the settlement, but he could not prevent his project from disintegrating. Smaller groups of Roma disappeared for weeks, and the non-Romani population of the area became more and more hostile to the settlers. The fate of the Romani school is unclear. However, we do know from correspondence between Ferenc Pintér, the new chaplain at Alcsut following András Rász, and the archbishop at Székesfehérvár, that the Catholic Church gradually withdrew its support from the archduke's initiative. Finally the local authorities requested the archduke to close the settlement. He obeyed and only those families remained "who by their diligence could gain His Majesty's support" (*Székesfehérvár és Vidéke* 26 January 1893). By the beginning of 1893 the settlement was ended. Hence it can be stated that the archduke's initiative lasted approximately one and a half years, although there were a few Romani settlers before August 1891 and after January 1893.⁸

The group settlement I initiated faced various problems. First of all, the time I could devote to this attempt was quite short, considering the rather wild morals and low level of civilization of Gypsies. Second, according to the local authorities, centralized massive settlements have many disadvantages. They thought that the surveillance of Gypsies would be easier to carry out if they were dispersed in small communities in villages.... It cannot be denied either that the hostility felt by the public toward Gypsies also makes the settlement very hard. The hostility is partly justified since indeed these black sons of India are quite naughty. And the tension only grows when the peasants learn that the Gypsies, as seemed necessary at the beginning, receive favorable treatment such as free clothing and food (Joseph 1893a).

In his argument the archduke mentions two primary reasons for the disintegration of the settlement. One is the relatively short time he had, considering

the low moral and civilizational level of the Roma. His statement completely ignores the different value system and culture of the Roma and judges them entirely on the basis of non-Romani norms. This kind of inherently discriminative thinking is instrumental in the maintenance of negative stereotypes about the Roma.⁹ However, it is not my purpose here to blame the archduke as an individual. Cultural discrimination and intolerance are organic parts of the non-Romani Hungarian and, with simplifications, white European civilization. Furthermore it is one of the major motives of its historic formation. The archduke's statement is in harmony with this discriminatory character; it is a typical manifestation of non-Romani civilization constructed on historic discrimination.¹⁰

The second reason the archduke mentions is the lack of support of the authorities. One of the reasons for this official attitude may be the difference between the authorities' attitude toward nomadic Roma and that of the archduke. As I mentioned earlier, the general purpose of official actions was to eliminate the presence of the Roma in Hungarian society through punitive and restrictive regulations. The archduke's initiative, however, represented an assimilative and educative approach. Another possible reason for the lack of official support is connected to the formation of disciplinary society. Crowds in constant horizontal connection with one another, or having the possibility of making such connections, are not transparent, they cannot be supervised and are uncontrollable. The division of these crowds into smaller and smaller units, however, increases the possibility of official observation and control in the establishment of unifying social discipline. That is why authorities do not favor "centralized massive settlements" and argue for the necessity of settling nomadic Roma in small units in villages. The archduke's initiative was perceived by them as a collectivizing approach in contrast with the official intentions of atomization.

The contemporary press blamed the Roma for the abolition of the settlement. The archduke's biographers, because of their loyalties to him and their negative stereotypes of the Roma, also blamed the settlers for not understanding the archduke's intentions and for their "uncivilized" behavior (Ortutay 1914, Ponori Thewrewk 1906, Thewrewk 1893). Heiczinger (1978) mentions economic problems at the micro- and macrolevels. He claims that the latifundium in Alcsut alone could not have provided work for hundreds of people per year. On the other hand, he also emphasizes that the archduke's initiative remained isolated, that no other landowners followed his example. That other landowners had this attitude had an economic basis; an abundant supply of agricultural labor came from the deteriorating strata of the peasantry, who were more accustomed to these types of work than were the nomadic Roma. Heiczinger also points out the difference in economic activities and traditions between the Romani and non-Romani population.

The hostilities mentioned by the archduke could also have made the settlement more difficult. These attitudes were reinforced by economic tensions, for example the problem of wages. The general perception of the Roma held by the majority and the authorities could also have been negatively affected by the unwillingness of the Roma to assimilate. The archduke's unilateral, rigid interventions failed because of the Roma's cultural resistance. The failures of his assimilative and educative efforts and of the punitive and restrictive actions of the authorities have important consequences.

Required and accumulated knowledge can be the purpose or the catalyst of hierarchical power interventions. An increasing amount of information fosters the creation of new methods of surveillance and control, while increased power can aid in the improvement of knowledge. This system of connections can also be discovered in the archduke's initiative. He attempted to settle the Roma and to try new disciplinary forms of control on the basis of his ethnographic knowledge, by using myth to counter myth and undercut resistance. At the same time the settled, immobile, and controlled Roma could have been the subjects of further ethnographic investigations and examinations.

From today's standpoint, both the official interventions and the archduke's initiative seem problematic. They ignored entirely the culture and traditions of the Roma. The Roma were not involved in any of the decision-making processes. The resistance of the Roma did not induce the decision makers to modify their approach and invent more culturally sensitive, integrative, and interactive methods. However, it seems that in order to implement such methods and eliminate inherently discriminatory attitudes, it is necessary to have greater knowledge of the culture of the Roma. At the same time this accumulated knowledge can result in an imbalance of power over the Roma. That is why new methods of scientific research and problem solutions cannot be invented without the consent of the Roma and the possibility of their participation in and evaluation of these processes.

Notes

Acknowledgments. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1994 annual meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, Los Angeles, CA.

¹On the increasing economic and political significance of the state, see Berend and Szuhay 1978.

²I use the term "Roma" (singular, "Rom;" adjective, "Romani") because of its authenticity. The term "Gypsy" is one of the names given to them by the majority cultures that surround their communities. Due to a lack of sources the Romani group the settlers belonged to cannot be defined exactly.

³Concerning the Alcsut estate (terms of production, wages, technical development, etc.) I will draw on data published in *József főherczeg ur Ó Császári és Királyi Fensége Uradalmainak rövid ismertetése* [Brief Summary of the Estates of His Royal Majesty Archduke Joseph], published in Budapest in 1896.

⁴ There were altogether 4,919 inhabitants living at Alcsut in the early 1890s. Of these, 2,863 were Hungarians (58.2%), 2,027, Germans (41.2%), and the other 29 inhabitants (approximately 0.6%) were Slovaks and persons of other origins. However, on the archduke's other estates Hungarians were in the minority. At Kisjenő and Gyapju, Romanians, at Pilicsaba, Germans, and at Tiszaszentmiklós, Serbians constituted the majority.

⁵ Unfortunately, neither Szűry's nor the archduke's nor other authors' accounts provide any concrete information concerning the Romani group the settlers belonged to. Thus it is only probable that they were members of the Kalderaš or Lovara groups.

⁶ See his accounts of the traditional Romani way of life in Joseph and Wlislöck 1895.

⁷ Naturally I cannot claim that the Roma would have thought about the question of salaries this way. I only try to reconstruct how the archduke might have thought about the problem and what might have made him decide to give higher wages to Romani workers. My conclusion here remains only a probability as it cannot be proved that the archduke considered the dilemma as I describe.

⁸ I hope to follow up the fate of those Roma who remained at Alcsut.

⁹ I call this kind of thinking inherent because I think it is a historically and culturally encoded view about the Roma. The archduke's claim that the Roma have a "low level of civilization" might not be entirely consciously derogatory. This kind of superior attitude is one of the most important historically formulated characteristics of white European civilization.

¹⁰ The discriminatory mechanisms of European civilization, the investigative and destructive steps carried out by religious and secular powers toward alternative forms of knowledge, cultures, and beliefs, have been analyzed by Michel Foucault, Peter Burke, Edward P. Thompson, Mihail Bakhtin, Carlo Ginzburg, and Alan MacFarlane, among others.

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CHRONICLE

“The Ways of My People”

Steve Kaslov, Lolya
Edited by Sheila Salo

Steve Kaslov, Lolya, (c. 1888-1949) a leader of the Rusuya, ‘Russian’ Rom, dictated notes for his memoirs in hopes of publication. The excerpt published here provides glimpses of economic, political, and social organization, and details of daily life of the Rom in the United States in the first quarter of this century. The editor’s notes and an essay on the author and the manuscript draw on documentary and ethnographic research.

After the year of Chaiko’s death, the former chief of the Russian Gypsies, the Russian Gypsies got together and picked another chief. They believed that after a year they are allowed to pick a new chief. After a month of council, they decided upon Frinka as chief of the Russian Gypsies. Frinka was very proud to accept the position of chief and he decided to have a feast.¹ After a great celebration the new chief sat down to do the thing that he is supposed to do as chief of the Russian Gypsies. In the city limits of Johnstown Frinka met one of the other Gypsy chiefs, the chief of the Serbian tribes, Stevano, and they had a feast. This is customary with the Gypsies. When one leader meets another, they usually have a feast. They got together and put in \$50, a piece from each of their tribes. Then they got seven pigs, seven lambs and about thirty chickens and barbecued them. They also got five sixteen-gallon barrels of beer, fifteen gallons of wine and three gallons of whiskey, and all kinds of vegetables. They were dancing and singing and having a merry time. At that time several hundred of American people gather around to see them sing and dance. At the same time the women were telling fortunes and the men were trading

Sheila Salo, an independent researcher on ethnography of North American Rom and on the history of Gypsy groups in the United States, may be contacted through the *Journal*.

horses. Frinka had an apple-gray horse the age of six years. By the looks of this horse anybody would price it at \$250. But he had very bad heaves. When a horse has heaves and eats grass, you can't notice it. A farmer man came and looked at the horse and he liked it very much; so he was asking the Gypsies who this gray horse belong to; so one of the Gypsies said it belonged to Frinka. So one of the Gypsies started to holler out, "Hey, Frinka, Frinka." So Frinka said, "What is it you want?" The Gypsy said, "A man wants to see you." So Frinka walks to where this man is and said, "Do you wish to see me?" The man answered, "Yes. Is that gray horse yours?" And Frinka said, "Yes." So the man asked Frinka, "Do you like to trade that horse?" Frinka said, "No, that is our family horse." So the farmer goes over to his friend and says, "That horse must be good since he does not want to part with him. I have two Spanish horses that I'd trade for that horse." So Frinka said, "I don't know; let me look at your horse." So he went and saw the horses and liked them very much, but did not tell the farmer. He told the farmer he didn't think he could trade and the farmer says, "Why?" and Frinka said, "'Cause your horse is too light for me." "Listen," says the farmer, "I will give you both between my horse and your horse." And Frinka said, "I don't think you will give me as much as I want." So the farmer said, "How much do you want?" "\$150," said Frinka. The farmer said, "That is too much, my friend." So Frinka says, "No, that horse is only six years old and weighs 1,500 pounds. Why, he is as good as any brownny." "Listen, said the farmer, "I'll give you \$100 and my horses." Then Frinka takes the farmer's hand and says, "Now listen, this is the last time, you can take it or leave it. I'll split the difference with you. Give me \$125." So the farmer says, "That's a trade." And Frinka got his \$125 and the two horses and went to his tribe, and the farmer went toward town.

When the farmer got to town he found that the horse was short winded. He went to the constable and said that he had been cheated by the Gypsies. So the constable came to the camp and told Frinka he was under arrest. "For what?" asked Frinka. "For trading that man a short-winded horse. "Listen, Constable," said Frinka, "I pay license on this highway." What do you mean?" "I am paying \$50.50 for each county in the state of Pennsylvania."² The constable read the license and showed it to the farmer. "There is nothing we can do to him," he said. So Frinka said to the farmer, "I'll tell you what I'll do. I will trade you back. I will give you back your horses and you give me mine." "Yes, I'll trade," said the farmer, "and I'll never trade with another Gypsy as long as I live."

So finally the Gypsies the next morning packed in their wagons and roamed toward Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. They had traveled for several weeks. Before they had reached the outskirts of the city of Pittsburgh, they stopped at a farm house and asked the farmer for a space of ground where they could camp. The farmer said to Frinka that they could camp there. "I'll charge you a dollar per week per each camp." Frinka then spoke to the tribe saying, now this was a good place to camp; it had a



Steve Kaslov at the microphone, 1938. Photo by NBC Photo (Wm. Haussler). Carlos de Wendler-Funaro Gypsy Research Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

lot of big shady trees and also plenty of running water for the horses, "and a lot of pasture for your horses and we can rest here for a couple of months and make a good living. As you see the limited car is right near the camp so our women could take the streetcar and go to the city to tell fortunes and the men could go to the city and look for copper jobs. We could have a lot of visitors in the camp and then we would be able to trade horses," and the farmer was charging only a dollar per each tent and we were nineteen families altogether. "But be sure and keep the children off the highway and also keep the children neatly dressed so they won't look naked, or else the farmers will see them naked and will complain to the law. And the law might put us out of here." All the tribe obeyed Frinka's rules. Finally Frinka went to the farmer and paid him \$19 and the Gypsies drove their wagons into the beautiful green pasture which was surrounded with big shady trees. They pitched their tents and the women did their business of going to the grocery store to buy food. Some women went to gather wood, some went to get water, another one built a fire. They began to cook the meal for their men and children. The men took care of their horses, feeding the horses oats and corn.

The custom among the Gypsies is that all the menfolk eat in one group and the women and children eat separately. Every woman brings a large copper plate of food and puts it in front of her husband. Every man that has a plate of food passes it around to the other men to help themselves. They haven't much use for knives and forks, but they use spoons. They use their hands instead of knives and forks. Their habit is to sit on the ground in a large circle to eat. And after they get through eating, the young men get their violins and start playing a very melodious tune, and the young girls begin to sing and dance around a big fire to get the crowd in the camp so the women can tell their fortunes.

Every evening the people gather in the camp from all around the farms, four to five hundred people, curious to see the way the Gypsies sat on the ground in a big circle, eating from large copper plates. There were about twenty-five to thirty men in that circle. The crowd comes in at about five or six o'clock and stays 'til about eleven o'clock, when they go home to let the Gypsies rest.

The custom for the Gypsy women is to get up early in the morning and go to the city to tell fortunes from house to house and from store to store. In the year 1899³ the law was not strict towards the Gypsies because a license or a permit could have been issued from the clerk of the county court or from the city hall. The Gypsies stayed in the outskirts of the city of Pittsburgh all throughout the summer and their business was very good. The Gypsies' belief is that when they are all together they are to share and share alike with all those who are married. Then he can spend his money as he sees fit.

In the year of 1899, one early morning, an Italian man by the name of Tony Capalo came in the Gypsy camp and asked one of the Gypsy women who is the

woman that tells fortunes. The Gypsy woman told him that she was the one that told fortunes. He asked her what she charged to tell his fortune and she said fifty cents for a full reading. The Italian paid the fifty cents. She began saying, "You will live a long time. You are a very free-hearted man. You like to treat everybody well, but you never receive thanks for it. You have two enemies, one male and one female. In front of you they like you, while behind your back they could drown you in a glass of water, if they could. Your lucky days are Fridays. You are a lucky man to make some money. But you have no luck to save it." He then answered, "Yes, you are right, madam." "Are you a married man? Tell me the truth." "Yes, madam, I am married." She: "You have a very wonderful wife. Sometimes you think that she is not true to you. Sometimes you think she is true to you. Tell me the truth. You have five children?" He: "Yes, madam, that's true." She: "Sometimes you feel sick; sometimes you feel good." He: "Yes, madam, I feel sick in my back." She: "You're not sick from the God; you're sick because of your enemies." He: "I believe so, madam."

So this Gypsy woman told another Gypsy woman to bring her a glass of water. So Lutka brought the glass of water and gave it to the woman who was telling the fortunes. She tells the man to put his hand in the glass of water; so this man put his two fingers in the water. She asked him whether the water was cold or warm. He answered cold. "See, my good man," she said, "whether this water will boil like the water on the fire. If it does I can help you; if it does not boil, that means I cannot help you. If this water boils, then I will be able to help you and take your sickness away." Then she took the handkerchief and put it on top of the glass of water. Then she wrapped the handkerchief around the glass and turned the glass upside down, telling the man not to be afraid, my good man. So she held the handkerchief tight and it expanded the water and the water made bubbles and noise. She puts it near his ear and asked him whether he heard the water boil. He said, "Yes, ma'am, it is boiling." Then she put the glass upside down on the table and said, "My good man, you're not sick from the God; you're sick from the bad enemies, for they put a bad curse on you now. I will have to work with my twenty-nine spirits at the crossroads in order to be able to help you now. Someone pays me from \$20 to \$30 to take the bad luck away from them. Now tell me the truth—how much you are not sorry to pay the spirits to take this bad luck away from you." The man said, "I have \$10 with me and I am willing to give you this ten dollars if you will help me." Then she tells him to put the money on top of the glass. "Look, my good man, see how this water stays still in this glass."

Then she put her thumb near the table and grabbed the handkerchief and pulled it slowly and the water started to bubble again and the man gets startled and very scared. Then the man said, "Now I know that you will help me." The woman told him to tell no one for six weeks; if he did tell what happened with the water he

would be crippled for life from the bad luck; he might tell about the fortune, but not about the glass of water. "Go home," she said, "and don't worry, for you will be a success all your life." Then the man thanked her very much for what she did and left the camp.

Then the woman told Lutka what a man that was. "He gave me the ten dollars like two cents. If the California Gypsies were here and got hold of a man like the one that gave me the ten dollars, they would have got from him every cent he had. I think he was a very rich man." Lutka said, "You're crazy. Why don't you call him back and try to get more from him?" Anushka said, "Oh, no, we are all the time around Pittsburgh and we might run into him again and he might cause us trouble with the police."

A few days later Frinka told his troop of Gypsies to get ready to leave in a couple of days and told the menfolks to fix their wagons and grease them too; to shoe their horses and fix their harness, because the roads are very bad in the state of Pennsylvania, with very big mountains and rough roads; and we had a long ways to travel since winter was coming on, and we were moving down to a warm state which was good for trades. They all agreed and started towards Washington, D.C.

They found the roads in Pennsylvania very rough with many mountains. Sometimes they had to get down and push the wagons from behind or work for hours to help each other out of the ditches. Some days they made three or four trades a day and some days they bought or sold horses and told fortunes. They were very happy that no one outside of the tribe interfered with them. Sometimes at night the young boys of the towns and villages who used to visit our camp thought that they could make love to our girls, because our girls talked to them while telling their fortunes, and our girls, after all, were strangers to them. Sometimes they would get excited and try to raise trouble. Every time this happened, Frinka would have to get up and stop the boys by talking to them very nicely; and sometimes Frinka's talk didn't help and he had to sneak someone of the tribe to bring the law to chase the boys away. Day by day they finally arrived in Washington, D.C., and inquired where they could find a Gypsy camp. That was in the year of 1902.

They stayed in a camp on the outskirts of Washington for about three months, the men trading horses and doing their coppersmith and retinning work, and the womenfolk going around town telling fortunes. The city of Washington was very good to them because they paid license for telling fortunes and the law was very good to them at that time and never bothered them and never chased them from place to place, as they do now.

They started to roam from Washington to Richmond, where they camped outside of the city limits. They stayed there about one month and then they went to Norfolk, day by day roaming in that direction. But the weather was changing a little toward warmer and the horses changed their food from timothy hay to fodder, which

is the stalks of the corn, and they had different water. Some of the horses got the colic and died. They lost eleven heads of horses. Grantcha lost four horses. The tribe had to delay, buying horses for Grantcha. So they went into the country to the farms and bought two bronco horses which were very wild. It took Grantcha several days to break them in harness and finally they started on their way again to Norfolk, Virginia. One day Grantcha's horses got scared from the thunder and started to run and upset the wagon. Two wheels broke and the tongue of the wagon. The harness went to pieces and Grantcha's three children got hurt. Two of them broke their legs and one broke his arm. His wife was badly hurt and bruised. Damages had been done to people and property, and he had lost four horses before. That night Frinka got his tribe together and began to discuss the damage that Grantcha had. "Listen, fellows," he said, "we cannot help him with his three boys that got hurt, but we can help him on his four horses that died on him, and also fix his wagon and fix his harness. About his children, Mara will take care of them. Tomorrow she will buy some clay and I will fix some boards and we will take care of them. But the only thing to do is not to let anybody outside of our tribe see the kids, as they might send some doctors to see the children, and the doctors might take them away from us and might put them in farm schools until they are twenty-one years old, because they can't read or write. And if the school society takes them they might take all our children and under that condition we might have to leave American and go back to Russia."⁴

Grantcha's wife, Anushka, said, "Don't be afraid, Frinka, for I will take good care of my children and see that no one will ever see them roaming around the camp."

Then Frinka began to figure the damage Grantcha had. Grantcha had paid \$95 for one horse, \$62 for another, \$50 another and \$45 the last. Two wheels cost him \$23.50 and the pole \$10, and harness \$17. They figured the total at \$302.50. There were nineteen families in this troop so they chipped in \$16 apiece. Then Frinka said, "Alone it is a big damage," but as they were a group, it was all right that everybody in the tribe should help. It would hurt no one. Grantcha said, "Thanks for all you did for me." Frinka said, "Don't mind that, as long as you take care of your children so that no society will see them to take them away. If they do we will be in a lot of trouble."

They stayed there for a couple of days and then started out roaming again towards Norfolk, Virginia. They had been traveling for about two weeks and finally when they reached Norfolk they looked for a Gypsy camp and found one just outside the city limits at which they found a few Gypsy families which had just arrived from South America. Frinka inquired from one of these by the name of Matei how South America was for Gypsies. Matei answered that there is a lot of copper work in South America, but that the labor is very cheap and copper is very high, and when the work is done and delivered, it is very hard to collect your bill, as they managers think that

we overcharge them. That is the reason why Gypsies are not working coppersmith in South America. But the horse trading was very good, and also fortune telling, and the living not so expensive. But there was lots of sickness in South America, and that is what made it so difficult to stay in South America. They had not been able to save any money, but had made expenses.

Asked how America was, Frinka said it was very good for Gypsies. America is a free country, not like Russia where one had to carry his passport in his pocket and have it signed by the police in every different town in order to stay or leave. Then Frinka was asked which way he expected to travel from there. "Well," Frinka said, "we are going to Florida from here as we heard that the weather is very warm there and the climate is very good." Matei said, "Well, in that case I will travel with you towards Florida." Frinka said, "All right."

Then they started to roam towards Florida. They traveled from town to town, from state to state, until finally they reached Jacksonville. They looked around the outskirts of Jacksonville until they located a beautiful green pasture with palm trees all around and a small brook near the camp. So they pitched their tents in a circle and made it their camp while they stayed in Jacksonville.

They had been there about one month and their business was very good and they were able to save about three hundred dollars each family, when one early morning Frinka made a speech to his tribe. "Listen, my good friends," he said, "we had good luck since we arrived in America. We will stay here for a while to rest and also to enjoy ourselves. Next Sunday is a holiday, Saint Mary's, and I am celebrating this holiday for the health of myself and family."⁵ At that the tribe was very glad and very happy to hear they were going to have a good time and enjoy themselves at the holiday. So Frinka said, "We will have to go to the farms to buy pigs, lambs and chickens, as you know our rule is to buy everything alive, and also to buy wine, whiskey and beer." So one morning they hitched two horses to the wagon and went to inquire where they could buy some fine pigs. One farmer told them where they could buy all the pigs they wanted. So they went to this farmer and stopped in front of the farm, and Frinka got off the wagon and went to the farmer as the farmer was just going in the field. He said he could sell them pigs, chickens, and lambs and everything. He took them to where the pigs were and Frinka said, "I'll take those six then." Matei said, "Here is another good one." Then Frinka said, "Why, Matei, I'm surprised at you. Did you forget our rules that you cannot buy odds, and everything you buy must be even? So I'll just take six." Then, turning to the farmer, "Have you got small calves?" "Sure, I have some good ones if you pay the price." Frinka bought two calves, four lambs, and forty chickens, and ten turkeys. The farmer gave Frinka a bill for \$108 and Frinka paid it with a smile. He said to Matei, "Well, we made a good bargain. We bought everything cheap from this farmer." They loaded all the

stock in their wagon and went back to the camp. There Frinka hollered for his son Lazo to have him and some of the other boys kill, clean, and dress all of the stock.

Then Frinka said to Matei, “Now we will go back and buy some vegetables, and in the meantime get the wine and beer and whiskey.” They bought all kinds of vegetables and two kegs of beer of sixteen gallons each and ten gallons of wine and ten quarts of whiskey. After they had bought everything they needed, Matei said they should hurry home, for their families might think that something might happen to them, as they had been away all day. But Frinka said, “Just wait a minute, as I have to buy a candle wick to burn in the middle of the table at our celebration. And you don’t mean to tell me that you forgot our tribe rules for the holidays?” And this candle must be pure wax, so they went to the Russian Orthodox church and bought a ten-pound candle. Then Frinka said, “Now that we got everything, we will go straight home.” When they arrived home they unloaded everything. Frinka called his wife and a couple of the other women, saying to his wife, “I have brought you everything you could bake. Now we will have bread and cake, wine and everything.” Frinka had to get up about six next morning to start a charcoal fire to roast the pigs and lambs, and cook the chickens. Several of the older women came to help in the cooking. The rule of the Gypsies is that the table must be set completely by ten AM. The men, women and children all got together and were getting ready to set the table. When the table was set Frinka told the tribe, “My good friends, the table is all set, now we will light the candle in the middle of the table, let us all pray the Saint Maria that we should reach the year 1904. We will pray in Gypsy language, *Santa Maria azhutis, t’as mange hai amare shavenge pa’e bersheste mai misto*, ‘Saint Mary, may the lot of our children in the future be a lot better.’”

Frinka turned to the tribe, saying, “Now you can all sit down and enjoy yourself.” After a while he said to the boys, “Get out your instruments and we will have music. Let us all be merry and happy.” The music began, the girls started to dance, everyone was gay and happy. After they stopped, the tribe stood around and talked to each other, declaring that this was the best and biggest Saint Maria’s celebration that they had ever seen or attended in Gypsy history.

The party lasted all day until ten that night. Matei was feeling good and asked Frinka, “Is there any more drinks?” Frinka said, “Why, no, there isn’t any more to drink.” Matei said, “Well, go out and get some more.” Frinka said, “It is very late and I think you have had enough, my friend.” Now Matei felt insulted, he rose to his feet and began to shout at the top of his voice, “How dare you insult me at your own table.” Frinka walked up to Matei and slapped him on the face with his right hand. Matei ran to his tent and grabbed the tent corner pole (this pole is about five and a half feet long and two inches thick). He ran towards Frinka and hit him right on the head with it. Then the fight started between the two tribes. Men, women and children started pulling out each other’s hair and tearing their clothes. It must be explained

here that to pull out the hair of a Gypsy is the worst kind of insult, because nature grew the hair and a human cannot replace it. The men pulled handfuls of hair from each others' whiskers and the women started to scream for the police. The men, hearing the women call for the police, tried to stop them, and begged them to stop because if the police arrived they would all be arrested. At that moment a farmer passing by saw the fight and heard the noise, he became so scared that he whipped up his horse and went straight to the police. This farmer asked the sheriff to come right away to the Gypsy camp, because they were killing each other. Upon hearing this the sheriff got his shotgun and quickly summoned a posse, came to the camp and fired a couple of shots in the air, in order to scare them. Seeing that this did not stop them he called for them to stop fighting or he would shoot everyone. At this, some of the Gypsies began to run towards the woods to hide themselves. All who remained in the camp were arrested by the sheriff. Almost all of them had been badly hurt. Scalp wounds were in evidence and they were taken to the hospital and treated for their various injuries. All appeared before the night judge and were placed under \$50 bond each. Frinka represented himself as the leader of the tribe, the sheriff let him out and he produced a bondsman. All were let out on bail. Next morning they all appeared before the judge and were told that if they made any more noise or trouble when they returned to camp they would all be killed. So everyone went back to camp and went to sleep.

Frinka arose next morning and in talking over the happenings of the night before said, "It is no use to argue and fight. Tonight we will have a Gypsy trial, and the one who is the guilty one will have to pay all the damages."

After the trial the Gypsies returned to camp. The Gypsy trial was held and they all agreed that the happening was a terrible disgrace. Worst of all was the fact that Matei had pulled out the hair from Frinka's beard. Besides this, all the copper saucepans were "nasty," for had not all the women of the tribe passed over them? Even the plates would have to be thrown away. It must be mentioned here that in the Gypsy tribes, if a woman passes over a copper pot or plate and her skirts come in the least contact with it the article is no longer clean and useful and must be destroyed. We can no longer use them or the other tribes will not eat at our table, we ourselves will be dishonored. We will be *marime* (outcasts).

At this point Lolya, Steve Kaslov, foreman of the jurors, said, "Frinka and Matei, we find you guilty. You, Frinka, because you first slapped Matei, and you, Matei, because you pulled out the hair from Frinka's whiskers. We therefore order you both to pay the whole damages. Also you both must replace all of the copper pots and all other eating plates and material for everybody. The fine is therefore \$300 plus the utensils and materials."

Frinka turned to the tribe, saying, "Lolya and tribesmen, we agree to pay all damages and we thank you for your honest and fair decision."

After this was settled, they all returned to their wagons and began to pack. When all was ready the caravan started on the highway. Matei said to Frinka, "Which way are you going from here?" Frinka answered, "I am going towards Buffalo." Matei said, "I am going towards Florida."⁶ Frinka said, "Well, we might as well say goodbye and good luck." Matei said, "Goodbye and good luck." So each tribe separated, going in different directions. The one tribe arrived in Buffalo about seven months later, made camp, and some went in search of copper work in Buffalo.

They were quite successful with the copper and brass work. They brought the work home to the camp, most of the work came from the hotels and factories. For about six weeks work was plentiful. In this period of time the Gypsies had collected and completed about \$1,600 worth of work. Steve Kaslov had superintended all of the soliciting and delivery of the work, placing gold coins as guarantee for the return of the articles.

One night Frinka and Lolya were sitting by the campfire when Lolya said to Frinka, "Listen, I have talked to one of the managers of a candy factory. He had just come from San Francisco and he says that it is a good town for copper work. You see, there is more money in copper work than in horse trading or fortune telling, but we cannot travel in horse wagons as there are bad deserts to travel over; we could go by train. The cost will have to be gone over, we will have to see how many men, women, and children we have, and as we go along we might be able to look for land where we might be able to buy later on and settle and have our children educated." Frinka figured that we had about 85 grown men and women plus a greater number of children. It was decided that 60 tickets would be bought. That made it two passenger cars and two baggage cars.

Next morning Frinka went down to the town and inquired about the copper trade in San Francisco, and found that all Lolya had told him was true. He returned to camp and the proposition was talked over for about one hour, and it was decided on that the tribe should sell the horses and wagons and start for Frisco. Next day all the horses and wagons that belonged to the tribe who were going by train were taken down to the auction and sold. The tent maker was given orders to make enough bags for the journey.⁷ Then Frinka obtained the railroad tickets; 82 tickets were purchased, three passenger cars and two baggage cars.

Along the way the tribe was allowed to stop at New Orleans, Houston, El Paso, Phoenix, stopping in each town about five days. They looked over the land in each place and told fortunes, by way of earning a little money. They also obtained quite some copper work, but the worst of all the trouble was the difficulty they had with the railroad conductors. Through their not knowing much about railroad traveling they were compelled to pay much extra fare. The total was 27 extra full fares and 50 half fares. The conductor told Frinka that if these fares were not paid he would have to leave some of the tribe behind. So it was arranged that Lolya, Steve

Kaslov, would work in the copper trade, and when he had enough money he would bring the rest of the tribe along.

Frinka arrived in San Francisco in the year of 1906. They found it was very hard to make a living because of the earthquake; the city was still smoking. No one was allowed to go about the city freely. Police were stationed along along the thoroughfares and all people had to be off the streets by six o'clock in the evening. Because of all the jewelry, gold and silver that had been lost and burned in the fires following the earthquake, you could not stoop down and pick up anything on the street even if you yourself had dropped it. The police department kept a strict eye on everyone. It was very easy to get into trouble with the police also because of looting. Several persons had been hanged in the street and were left for everyone to see, in this way acting as a warning to others.

The tribe, seeing all of these happenings, became very disturbed and consulted Lolya and Frinka about returning to the city of New York, but Lolya explained that it would be much better to remain, at least for a little while, and see if a living could not be made in the copper trade. This Lolya reasoned, because the factories would have to replace much of the machinery and therefore repair work would be plentiful.

Frinka went to Oakland, located a campsite and the tribe pitched camp. The next morning the women went out to tell fortunes and the men set out in search of copper work. Frinka and Lolya obtained several samples from the hotels and bakeries and a few from nearby factories. The samples were duly repaired and returned to the places of business and the owners apparently were pleased with the work. Altogether about 22 orders were obtained. Most of the repairing was the making of new bottoms for huge copper kettles. However, when the repairing was started it was noticed that the copper had been so badly burned that as soon as the kettle was touched with a hammer, the metal fell to pieces. The worst pieces belonged to the candy factories, and it was impossible to repair them at the price stated, so Frinka and Lolya went back to the factory and told the manager of their findings, showing this person that the best thing that could be done would be to remake the kettle entirely. This manager agreed to the proposition and gave a contract for 22 kettles as follows: 22 kettles at \$1.50 per pound, including labor and material, each kettle being from 30 to 60 pounds. In about three weeks the work was completed and ready for delivery to the factory, the total bill was for \$660. When the bill was presented to the manager he refused to pay, and retracted his statement relative to the conditions of the kettles when they were given to the Gypsies to repair. This manager emphasized his point of refusing to pay by stating that the kettles were good and only needed minor repairs. After some deliberating on this point the manager stated that he would settle for \$330. Lolya said, "Why, Mr. Manager, you are trying to cut your original amount in half, but you must understand that we

cannot do it, we contracted with you for \$660 for material and labor and you were satisfied or you would not have given us the contract. The manager still refused to pay other than \$330, saying to Lolya, "Well, you either take it or leave it." Lolya, seeing that the man apparently was trying to get the best of the bargain, and feeling that this was due to the fact that this man believed that the Gypsies, being uneducated, would have no alternative but to allow him to have the things at his price, felt very much disturbed, but he remembered that they had recourse to law, so he turned to the man, saying, "Very well then, we will take you to court." The manager again repeated, "Take it or leave it." Lolya offered another proposition, that of 20 percent for cash, but the manager still refused, not one more cent than half would he pay. Lolya went to a lawyer and placed the case in his hands, and the decision was in favor of the Gypsies. Now this was something new to the Gypsies, to have the protection of the law.

At the council meeting the Gypsies ascertained that they had earned about \$2,975 clear profit and they began to feel that they would be able to earn a living by the only trade left to them, that of coppersmithing.

Frinka asked all to put their money down on the tablecloth. He showed his amount to be \$4,715, expenses \$815, leaving a clear profit of \$3,900. "How much you have, Stanana?" "I cleared \$4,890. My expenses are \$1,090. I have clear money \$3,500."

Frinka got the money from all the parties who collected money from work. At that time there were 15 of them. Frinka counted all the money, the total was \$49,764 all clear, to be divided among 39 workers, Frinka said, "Boys, we have \$49,764. I will give you each \$1,200. I will have over, \$2,900, which I will hold to pay the expenses back East."

Gypsy rule is that every man who is working, or who is getting the job, gets a full share of the profits. If you make \$5,000 or \$5.00, it's all the same. You are no better than the one who made less.

Our Gypsy women made part of our expenses by telling fortunes around Oakland and San Francisco.

After the money was divided among the tribe, Frinka said, "Boys, before we leave California, I'm going to buy some souvenirs to take back East, so when we are going to meet the Gypsies back East, we will have something to show them from California."

So the next morning they all got together and went shopping. They went to Chinatown. As they were passing through Chinatown, Frinka noticed some beautiful Chinese shawls. Frinka said, "Wait, boys, I'm going in to find out about these shawls. The manager took the shawls out of the window and showed them to Frinka. Everybody said in our own language, "My God, I have never saw a shawl so big and purty." Then Frinka said, "Boys, my advice is, that every man should buy one for

his wife." So every one that was with Frinka said, "Make a bargain for four dozens. We decided to get one apiece." Frinka asked the Chinaman, "How much do you want for this shawl?" The Chinaman answered, "\$60." The Frinka said to the Chinaman, "I don't want to buy one, I want to buy four dozens. Give me a wholesale price." The Chinaman said, "Wait, I will go and ask the boss." The Chinaman came back and said, "The boss told me that if you buy four dozens, he will make the price \$50 each." Then Frinka said, "Well, boys, what do you say?" They said, "All right, but they must be all one kind, so our wives won't argue over the color." Then Frinka said, "Yes, I think I could get four dozens of the red color," and they all said, "That's the color we want." So the Chinaman got the four dozens of shawls and packed them very nicely. And Frinka said, "How much do we owe you?" The Chinaman said, "\$2,400." Then Steve Kaslov said, "Frinka, come here. Look at this silk, I think that our Gypsy women never have worn anything like it in the history of our people." Then Frinka said, "You are right. I have never saw anything like in my whole life." Then he asked the Chinaman, "How much is this silk, per yard?" The Chinaman said, "\$1.80 per yard, but if you buy a lot, I will give you a bargain." "What will you make it, if we buy about 2,000 yards." Then the Chinaman said, "My friend, if you buy 2,000 yards, I will have to see the boss and see what he can do for you." The Chinaman went and told the boss that they want to buy 2,000 yards. The boss said, "As long as they buy over 100 yards, I will make it at \$1.10 per yard." Then Frinka said, "Well, boys, what do you think? I think it is a bargain." Then they said to him, "No, Frinka, we can't afford it. It will take about 25 yards to make one skirt, and 15 yards to make an apron, and 7 yards to make a shirt. It will take 47 yards to make a suit, and that will cost \$51.70." Then Frinka said, "I will buy some for my wife and two daughters." Then Frinka said to the Chinaman, "I'll buy 147 yards in three colors."

Then Frinka said, "Boys, now we will go to the bank and exchange our paper money for American gold coins. But if we all go to the bank, the people might notice that we are getting so much gold and might follow us to camp and might make some trouble for us. So the best thing for us to do is each couple go to different banks and we will meet at the restaurant where we always eat in Oakland."

They all met at the restaurant and went back to camp. When they got to camp, each one called his wife and showed her the shawl. Upon seeing this, the Gypsy womens was very happy. Then they all got together to see the silk that Frinka bought for his wife and daughters. They all said, "It's very nice," and wished Frinka's wife and daughters luck with the silk and said they cannot afford to buy silk like that, as it is too expensive.

Frinka said, "Boys, tomorrow we will make arrangements to go back to Chicago, and you, Lolya, go and see the lawyer and ask what he done about the candy factory bill."

Lolya went to the lawyer and asked him, "What did you do about that bill I left with you?" The lawyer said, "Mr. Kaslov, I talked to him and he offered me \$450. If you want to settle for that, I could get the money today, and I'm only going to charge you \$50 for my fee." Lolya said, "All right." So the lawyer went and got the money and gave Lolya the \$400.

Lolya got the money and went shopping. He went to a department store and bought a complete outfit from hat to shoes. The outfit cost him \$53. Lolya then took the ferry and came home to camp.

Frinka asked me, "Well, Lolya, what you done with the lawyer?" I said, "I settled for \$450 and the lawyer got \$50 out of the \$450." Then Frinka started to laugh and said, "That's good. I thought that you would not get a nickel over from what he offered you. By the way, where you got the clothes from?" I said, "I bought it. It cost me \$53." Then Frinka said, "Then you didn't brought home \$400, did you?" "No, I only brought home \$347." Then he said to the other boys, "Well, I guess we will donate him that outfit as he saved a lot of money for us. And helped us along the way and done a lot of things which was very hard for most of us to do. So we'll just make him a present of that outfit." So I was very glad and thanked them all for what they did to me.

Then Frinka said, "Lolya, we have arranged cars for tomorrow. We are leaving tomorrow evening for Chicago. So the next morning they packed up and they all went to the depot and left for Chicago. In about six days and six nights they got to Chicago. It was the middle of spring. Last week in April. They went to the express man and engaged him to take them to the Gypsy camp in Lyons, Illinois. They found a big tribe of Gypsies in the camp and the chief himself, Lazo. Frinka went straight to Lazo and gave him a great big hug and said, "It's been a very long time since we left each other. How was everything since I left you?" Lazo said everything was great, and wished it was like that forever. Then Frinka said, "Lolya, come here." I went to where Frinka and Lazo was setting. Then Frinka said, "Lazo, I want you to shake hands with Lolya. He is one of my greatest helpers. He has pulled me out of many tight spots." Lazo said, "I'm very glad to know you, Lolya, as I've heard a lot about you, and you are doing very well for a boy of your age. By the way, Frinka, how old is Lolya?" Frinka said, "To be correct, Lolya is 18 years old." Then Lazo said, "Well, Lolya, if you keep your name and reputation the way Frinka told me, I think that some day you will be a leader of our Russian tribe."

So Frinka said, "Lazo, I will make a party in your honor, as we have some things from California." So they started the party and the Gypsy womens started to dress themselves in their brightest dresses, and decorated themselves with their beloved gold coins and their big red shawls and gold bracelets, 60 to 70 pennyweight each. There was about 175 Gypsy womens in the whole tribe. Every Gypsy woman carried from 1,000 to 12,000 dollars worth of American and foreign gold coins

around their necks. Above all this Paska was the best dressed of the all, with her Chinese red and yellow clothes.

Everyone enjoyed themselves that night, so next morning Lazo called everybody and made a speech. "Ladies and gentlemen, we have only two weeks before our Easter, so I want you all to be prepared. So send your wives to tell fortunes and you menfolks, go around and try to get some copper work, and you know that our rule is that we should stand together. But because we are so many, I suggest that every couple should be partners, and in case of anyone getting in any trouble, we will all chip in and help them out." So they all agreed with the chief. Then Lazo said, "Lolya, I want you to go and look for a good camping grounds. You know what I want. I want nice shady trees, and I want a spring to be near the camp and also a pasture for the horses. You could take my horse and buggy to look for the camp." Which I did. I went to several places, but I did not like them, so I finally located one just like he told me to, near Aurora, Illinois. I had to pay the farmer \$50 per week as we were almost 175 families. The pasture was about 20 acres and the farmer said our horses were welcome. I told the farmer that we would not come to his camp until two days before Easter, as we would like to have the grounds very clean for Easter. I got a receipt for the \$50 and came back to our camp in Lyons.

I went to Lazo and told him that I rented a camp for Easter at \$50 per week. He said, "That's good, Lolya, and it's very cheap, too."

So the next morning I said to Frinka, "I think that we ought to buy our horses and wagons right here in Chicago, as we could buy everything cheap here and besides that, after Easter everybody expects to leave." Frinka said, "You are right, Lolya, let's go in Chicago and see what we could buy in the line of Gypsy wagons."⁸

We went that day in Chicago and could not find what we wanted, so we kept going every day to an auction sale until we bought horses and wagons for everybody in our tribe. Then one morning Lazo said to me, "Lolya, I want you to set the camp in a circle and every tent should be in line and I want a lot of room in the middle, because we are going to move tomorrow morning to the new camp."

The next morning they all got up and Lazo gave orders to everybody to put their tents down and pack in their wagons to move to the new camp. After they all was packed and drove onto the highway, the line of the wagons was about half a mile long. So Lazo said, "Lolya, you lead the way to the camp." I went in front and led the way to the other camp and told everybody to follow me as they did. I made a circle, and after the last wagon was in line I stopped and got off the wagon.

They all put up their tents the way Lolya told them in order to satisfy Lazo. After they got through setting the camp properly, it was about getting dark. Then Lolya called some of the younger boys and told them to get some wood and make a big fire in the middle of the camp. After the boys made the fire, we gathered around the fire and I told Frinka, "Well, that was a day's work, and tomorrow will be still

harder as we will have to decorate our tents with a lot of green trees, which we will have to go in the forest and cut ourselves, and also, you know our rules that every family must have at least one barbecue pig in front of its tent. Tomorrow is Saturday and we will have to do all our buying that day. We can't sleep Saturday night as we have to get everything ready for Easter Sunday. Just for that, let's all go to sleep as we need the rest after driving, working all day." So they all went to sleep as they had to get up real early the next morning.

Lazo got up at dawn and hollered to the rest of them to get up. They all got up and Lazo told them to hitch 18 wagons, and go to town to buy some rations.

"Lazo, I was to the farm and the farmer told me that the pigs and lambs has been delivered, and he is waiting for us to come to get them."

Some of the younger boys went in the forest to get the green trees to decorate the inside of the tents. About four o'clock the next evening they bought everything that they needed for Easter. About six o'clock the next morning, which is Easter morning, they all started a charcoal fire in front of each tent to barbecue the pigs.

The Gypsy rule is to light a candle in front of Christ picture, which is set at the back pole of the tent. The Gypsy has to open the bag of money which is his life savings, right in front of the Christ picture. That means to their belief that God will triple their money before the next Easter Sunday. Also they believe that all the womenfolks should not come out of their tents until all the menfolks is out in front of their tents. If this is done by any Gypsy woman, it means a disgrace to her. 'Til next Easter Sunday. So each woman waits for her husband to come and tell her when she could come out of the tent. Well, this was done properly. Everybody called his wife out, and told her to help him with the cooking. Then Lazo said, "Ladies and gentlemens, we are so many in together, that we are not able to visit each and everyone's tent, but if we will separate ourselves in four groups, then we will be able to comply with our rules. After each group visits from tent to tent and after all the tents has been visited, then we could set a round table in the middle of the camp and get all together and have a good time. Frinka, you take your group on the east side; Lolya, you take the west side; Yantchi, you take the north; I'll take the south side." So we divided in four groups.

When the table was set at Tony's tent, Tony hollered, "The table is set. Come and set down and enjoy yourselves with the eats and drinks." We said, "Good morning, Tony, and may God help you and your children, and may God give you good luck to live with your family, and may you make many Easters in the future. With more happiness and more wealth." So we all sat down at the table. Then Tony said, "My friends, eat and drink and have a good time, then I have something to show you." Then he makes room on the table and takes the bag of gold and empties it on the table. Then I asked him, "How much money is there, Tony?" He answered, "\$10,500, all in American coins, fives, tens, and twenties." So everybody, as is the

rule, threw a silver coin in the pool of gold, and said, "May your gold be double by next Easter."

They did not stay more than ten or 15 minutes at each tent in order to visit every tent in the group. The words that were spoken at the first tent were spoken at every tent in the group. Finally, they have visited every tent in the camp. Then Lazo said, "Now we will have the big table set in a circle in the middle of the camp." They set one great big table in a circle and all four groups met at the grand table. Then Lazo said to everybody, mens, womens, and children, to set down and enjoy themselves. Then Lazo asked me, "Lolya, tell me who showed you the most money today." I said, "Tony showed the most money today. The amount was \$10,500, and all the rest much less than Tony." "How much did you see today, Frinka?" He said, "Well, I had the most in my group, the amount of \$15,000 in American gold coins, besides my jewelry." "And how much did you see, Yantchi?" "Well, the most I saw today was at Burtya's tent. He only had \$7,500." Then Lazo said, "Ladies and gentlemens, now I will tell you about myself. My life saving is \$26,000 in American gold coins, besides my jewelry, and that amounts to about \$5,000. Then he tells his wife Paraskiva to bring the bags with the gold. He shows his life savings to all the Gypsies that was at the camp. Then everybody said, "May God save them and double them each Easter, as long as you live."

After eating and drinking at the grand table, I wanted to take a walk, so I went out of the camp and climbed a small hill and looked at the camp below. I could see the horses and wagons and the tents and all the Gypsy mens, womens, and children, singing and dancing. And that big table in a circle of the camp looked to me like it was in Heaven, also when I saw how many persons was in that camp. It looked like a village from the hill where I was standing at. I started to come back to camp and thought to myself that this was the biggest table that I ever saw or heard of in the history of the Gypsies and the most Gypsies in any one camp. I think that there was about from 1,100 to 1,200 persons, including women and children in that one camp.⁹

It is also the rule of our tribe that on every Easter, everybody in the family must be dressed in new clothes, from hat to shoes. So this Easter, including clothes for the families, cost from \$100 to \$150 for each family. There were 175 families in the group. It cost about \$20,000 to all to celebrate that Holy Easter, which was held until the next morning.

That morning Lazo said to Frinka and to the rest of the tribe, "We will have to separate from here, as we are too many to travel in one group. But we will meet in Boston in the fall and we'll spend the winter in Boston. We will all get ready tomorrow to leave." So all the boys was getting ready to grease the wagons, some of them to shoe their horses, so they will be ready by tomorrow to leave. By nine o'clock the next morning everybody was ready and they all drove their wagons onto the highway. As soon as they all got on the highway, then they started to say goodbye

to each other. Some of them kissing each other and some of them crying and saying, "Don't cry and worry, as we will all be together again this fall in Boston." So they separated four ways. Some went to Cleveland, some went to Pittsburgh, and some went back to Chicago, and we went towards Boston. We found that some of the roads was very bad and muddy, and also many hills. Sometimes the wagons broke down. We had a very bad journey in many ways. In some places we was forced to stay for three or four days in order to get the horses back in shape for the long journey. Day by day, month by month, we finally got to Boston. We looked for a camp and finally got one on the outskirts of Boston. We put up our tents. We left our horses in the pasture. The next day another tribe of Gypsies came to camp with us. One Sunday morning, all the Gypsies got together in the middle of the camp and started talking. A Gypsy by the name of Pete Guy, he was born and raised in Italy, he asked Savulo, "You have a grown son, why didn't you get him married?" Savulo answered, "Well, now that you brought this up, there is some girls among the tribe, but they ask too much money for their girls." "Why don't you ask Stevano for his daughter?" "Why, you know better than me that Stevano wants \$3,000 for his daughter." "Well, why don't you go to Lakey, he has a nice daughter?" "Oh, Pete, you know the Serbian Gypsies won't give their daughters to the Russian Gypsies, so why talk about it?" Then Pete said, "Well, I have two daughters. Why don't you take one of my daughters?" "Pete, you don't mean what you say." "Of course I do, why don't you try me?" "Well, even if I do come to ask for your daughter, you will ask too much money." "No, I won't, if you want my oldest daughter, I guess you heard that she was married before. For her I'll take \$500 from you just because you my best friend, and if you want the youngest daughter, she wasn't married before. She is only 13 years old. I'll take \$1,000 for her." "Now, listen, don't make a fool out of me, Pete, if you do it will be too bad for you." Pete said, "Just give me your money and see if I go back on my word." Then Savulo said, "Kiss me, my good friend." Then they kissed each other. Pete said, "Send for wine and whiskey. Then Savulo said, "I'll send for the drinks and give you the money at the same time." Then everybody hollered, "Hooray, Lolya is getting married!"¹⁰

In the meantime, I was sleeping in the wagon. My uncle Todoro came to the wagon and hollered, "Get up, Lolya!" I said, "What's the matter?" Todoro answered, "You are going to be married." I asked, "To who?" He said, "To Peter's daughter." "Peter who?" "Pete Guy's youngest daughter." I was surprised and couldn't believe it. That I should get married to a girl that I never spoke to before in my whole life.

I got off the wagon, dressed, washed my face. Then I went to my mother and asked, "What's going on here?" My mother answered, "You are going to get married." "But, mother, she is only a baby." "That's all right, son. She is young, and I could bring her up the way I want to. She is from a rich family, and well known all over the world, besides that, you see that her father did not care for a lot of money,

and he just told me that if you are going to be all right, in a few months he will give you a present of \$500 to start you in business. Besides what he is going to give at the wedding. That shows that he won't have hardly anything left, and that means he likes you very much."

Everybody hollered hooray! They arrived with the wine. So some of the Gypsy womens took a carpet and spread it under a shady tree and set a small copper table on the carpet, and they put the wine on the table. Then the menfolks set around the table. Then Savulo called Pete, and said, "Here's your wine and whiskey and also \$1,000 in gold coins." Then Pete said, "The money could wait. Give me a drink first, as I have something to say. I'm taking this drink for the health and happiness and long life of my son-in-law Lolya and my daughter Pupa." He took his drink and as the Gypsy rule is, everybody hollered, "Hooray!" Then Frinka said, "You must drink three times out of the *ploshka*." Which is a bottle. Our marriage rules is that everybody must drink out of that bottle, which we call *ploshka*. After everybody had a drink from the *ploshka*, then Pete said, "Savulo, now you give me the money." So my father gave him the money. He counted the money, then he said, "\$1,000, correct." Then he said, "Someone call Lolya here." I came and asked him, "What you want?" He said, "Will you kiss me?" I said, "Yes, why not?" So I kissed him. Everybody was laughing then. Pete said, "Here, Savulo, I'm giving you five \$20 gold pieces to help you at the wedding, and besides we will hold the wedding for two days instead of three, because there is too many in the tribe and the wedding will cost too much money." Then my father said, "Thanks very much for saving me money. We'll start preparing the wedding tomorrow."

Next morning they got up and went to Boston to buy rations for the wedding. They bought everything of the best. They came back about nine o'clock that morning and started preparing the lambs and pigs for barbecue.

All the youngsters hollered, "Where is the band? We want to dance and be happy." Then some one said, "Where is the flowers?" The best man answered, "The flowers cannot be passed until the band gets here, and the band won't be here until ten o'clock." Then my father said, "Boys and girls, I want you all to be happy, especially today. I bought all red handkerchiefs for every one of you." Then someone said, "Here comes the band."

Then the best man said to my father, "Savulo, is the flag ready?" "Yes, they are preparing it. Now, listen, Frinka, have the band play in front of my tent, then have them play in front of Pete's tent, then set them in the center of the camp where it will be best for everybody to dance." Frinka took the flag and told the band to follow him to Pete's tent. The band played about 15 minutes in front of Pete's tent, then they played in front of my father's, a couple of songs. Then Frinka told them to set in the center of the camp and to play a Russian dancing song. Then Frinka said, "Come, everybody, let's dance, but be careful and don't touch the flag as you all know our

rule is that the best man must hold the flag on the first dance, and also you all know that a person who was married twice must not dance with the flag. After this dance is over, I will pass the flowers among everybody." After the dance was over, Frinka passed the flowers among the whole tribe and said, "We will drink and dance and about two o'clock we will set the first table, and about six o'clock we will set the second table. The band will play until eleven o'clock tonight, so everybody be happy."

Some were dancing, some were drinking, and some were talking. At about two o'clock Frinka said, "The table is ready, come and eat." So everybody set at the table. Then Frinka said, "Yantchi and Wasso, after you eat, I want you two boys to get your guitars, and get some of the girls, and play and sing some of the Gypsy melodies."

Yantchi and Wasso played, and Pupa and Lolya sang a couple of melodies. Then Pete said, "Listen to me, everybody, just to have real fun and enjoyment, let's have our girls dance on a contest, and the best dancer will receive from me a twenty-dollar gold piece." Then everybody said, "That will be real fun, and a gold coin for somebody." So they formed a circle and started the contest. There was about twenty-five good dancers in the tribe. Some dance the Gypsy dance, some the Russian, some the Spanish, and some the Hungarian. But the best of all was Nina, she danced the Russian Cossack dance. They all agreed on Nina. Then Pete said, "*Maro*, bring me that twenty-dollar gold piece that has the 18-carat gold ring around it, and bring me some of that green ribbon." Mara brought the coin and gave it to Pete. Then Pete said, "Nina, come here, I'm giving you this gold coin because you earned it, and I'm giving it to you with all my best wishes, and I hope it will bring you all the happiness that you wish for, now and when you will be married." Nina said, "Thank you very much," and she was very happy with the twenty-dollar gold coin.

Then Pete said, "Boys and girls, now that the contest is over, we'll have the band play and we will dance, and at the next table I will have a surprise for you." So at six o'clock, when everybody was at the table, Pete said, "*Maro*, I want you to bring our bags with the gold, as I want to show our friends our life savings." Mara took four of the boys with her. They each brought a bag and gave it to Pete. Then Pete said, "Now, boys, here's the surprise. I will show you my life savings, which is \$30,000 all in five, ten, and twenty-dollar gold coins." He took the bags and poured the coins on the table. Then everybody said, "Pete, we wish you all the luck in the world with your savings. It is the most gold that we ever saw to any Gypsy in America." They eat and dance until eleven o'clock. Then Frinka said, "We'll start again tomorrow at ten o'clock."

The next morning the old folks got up and started to barbecue and cook in order to have everything ready in time for two o'clock. At the first table at two o'clock, Frinka gave everybody time to eat, then he made a speech. "Listen, ladies

and gentlemens, we have been eating and drinking and having a good time for the last two days, and besides, everyone is going to get a silk handkerchief as a token from this wedding. If we would eat and drink for two days on our own money, I think it would cost each family from ten to fifteen dollars, but as we eat and drink and dance since two days on Savulo's expense, it is our duty, and our Gypsy custom, for each person receiving a handkerchief to give the groom and bride a gold coin. It will give them a start to build a new home." Which means a wagon, tent, and horses.

Then everybody clapped their hands and said, "We will do our best to help Lolya in his new home." Then Frinka hollered, "Bring the handkerchiefs and a loaf of bread." He made a hollow in the bread and he put some salt in the hollow of the bread, and also a little wine. Then he said a prayer in our Gypsy custom, "God, how much rain and wind fell on the wheat that grew this bread, that much luck and health should you give Lolya and his bride in their lives together." While Frinka was getting ready with the handkerchiefs, the old folks made an agreement among themselves, that the menfolks should give a twenty-dollar gold piece and the womenfolk, a ten-dollar gold piece. Frinka called me and the bride and told us, "Now, Lolya, you hold this handkerchief from both ends, from this end, and you, Pupa, from this end, and follow me." Frinka took one handkerchief from the bunch and put it on the shoulder of Latze and said, "Latze, you are the oldest and most well known in our tribe, and here is a drink of the best wine we could buy. Now, tell us, how much will you help Lolya and his bride?" Latze took the wine and drank it. Then he took a twenty-dollar gold piece from his pocket and took a little bread and put the bread on the gold coin and said, "I give Lolya this twenty-dollar gold coin and wish he makes thousands. But I wish him more health and happiness and a long life with his bride." Frinka took the gold coin and hollered, "Ladies and gentlemen, Latze gave Lolya twenty dollars in gold to start him in his married life." Someone told the band to make noise, as it is the Gypsy rule whenever a coin is given to the newlyweds. Then Frinka put the gold coin in the handkerchief. Frinka went from person to person until everybody gave a token. Everybody was very happy. Then Frinka said to me, "Lolya, do you think that we made them all?" I said, "No, there's a couple of old men drunk. We will see them tomorrow." Frinka said, "Now, we will go in one of the tents and count the collection." So we counted all the gold. The amount was \$1,360. Then Frinka said, "Lolya, this is about the biggest collection that ever been made in the history of Gypsies. Tomorrow your wife will make about \$150 or more from the ones that did not give today. Let's go back to the table and make a speech." Frinka said, "Ladies and gentlemens, this is about the biggest wedding that we ever had in America, and the biggest collection that ever was in history of the Gypsies. The amount of the collection was \$1,260, and the expenses of the wedding, \$750." Then he said to my mother, "Here is your daughter-in-law and the collections, and may God be good to Lolya and his bride and keep them in

health and happiness." My mother, as is the Gypsy rule, took the bride to our tent and told her not to leave the tent that night, as she will have to get up real early at dawn and get a pail of water and a towel, and go from tent to tent. My father thanked everyone and said, "Eat and drink, and if this is not enough, I will bring more." The wedding lasted 'til about eleven or twelve o'clock that night. Everybody was tired and went to bed.

The next morning the young bride got up at six o'clock in the morning, and went from tent to tent with a bucket of water and a towel. Some of the tribe who was up at that hour gave her a tip by dropping a quarter or half a dollar in the bucket. Afterwards she put that person water to wash his face and let him use the towel. After she got through, she had about \$160. At about one o'clock that evening the sheriff and his deputies came and ordered the whole tribe to leave the county by the next morning. The next morning they broke camp and left in several directions.¹¹

We came to Newark, New Jersey. Then one day I said to the tribe, "Let's go to New York and rent ourselves some stores." Then the whole tribe started to holler, "We will not go to New York to live in stores. Because if the law finds out they will take our children and send them all to the poor house." "If you will do what I'm telling you to do, when we'll move into the stores, I want you all to dress your children like the American children and send them to school. Then nobody's going to take your children away. But if the children's society takes them, I will pay all expenses to get them out. The reason why I want you all to stay in stores is that you will not have to live in tents in cold rains and snow, and besides that, we all could make a good living in the stores by telling fortunes, and also it is closer for us to look for copper work."

So the next morning we went to Brownsville, East New York, and rented about twenty stores around Pitkin Avenue, also a big stable for the horses and wagons. The next day we moved in our stores and stored our horses and wagons in the stable. In about a month or two all my tribe said, "It is very good to stay in stores in the winter and to send the children to school."¹²

“Lolya’s Story”: Steve Kaslov and His Memoirs

Sheila Salo

Steve Kaslov, or Lolya, (c. 1888-1949) was a leader of the *Rusuya* ‘Russian’ Rom group whose success was based largely on his ability to enlist the aid of influential non-Gypsies. As a territorial leader in New York City in the 1930s he drew his power from access to the home relief, or welfare, system.¹³

Whether by winning them over to his vision, or by tailoring his program to meet their expectations, Kaslov attracted both those non-Gypsies with a previous interest in Gypsies and, perhaps more importantly, those for whom he was their primary link to Gypsies. The publisher Victor Weybright made Kaslov and his program known to the national social work community (Weybright 1938a), to the public at large (Weybright 1938b; NBC), and in international Gypsy studies (Weybright 1945). Carlos de Wendler-Funaro, a teacher and scholar of Romance literature with an interest in Gypsies, acted as his amanuensis. The photographer Alexander Alland, Sr., presented Kaslov’s network of Rom in a photo exhibit at the Museum of the City of New-York in 1941 (New York *Sun* 4/4/41; Volland 1992). Kaslov’s most influential and effective supporter was Eleanor Roosevelt. The first lady was directly responsible for his introduction to welfare agencies in New York, supported the Romany Coppersmiths workshop, and sent Kaslov’s manuscript to a literary agent.

Kaslov and his activities have been the subjects of anthropological and sociological analyses of Rom political organization (Gropper 1967; Lauwagie 1985).

According to information provided by an elder brother acting as head of household, to the census enumerator in 1910, Steve Kaslov was born in Russia in 1888 (RG29: rl. 1367). His claim that he was born in the United States, “beside a green lane” (Weybright 1945:2) in Valdosta, Georgia, may date from 1915, when he apparently obtained his first US passport (RG84 Mat.:18, 3). The family, again according to 1910 census information, immigrated in 1901. While the family has not been definitely identified on a passenger manifest, many with whom the Kaslovs later associated docked at St. John, New Brunswick, in December 1900 (RG85 CD), crossing into the US by train.

On August 23, 1908, at Boston, Massachusetts, Steve Kaslov married Pupa, of the Gunarești lineage. On April 22, 1910, the couple were with Lolya’s parents, his brothers, and their families in Hazle Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, a coal-mining area in the northeastern part of the state (RG 29: rl. 1367). At the end of January 1912 Steve and his brother, with their families, were in Conway, South Carolina, involved in a conflict with other Rom (*Horry Herald*

1/25/12, 2/22/12, 2/29/12, 3/7/12; HC; CWF.). In October 1917, with his extended family, Steve Kaslov crossed into Mexico. Having a US passport, he was able to return without difficulty in early November 1918; he traveled in the border area in Texas until mid-April, when his family was able to join him (S. Salo 1992:68). At the end of May he was arrested in Baltimore, Maryland on suspicion of evading the military draft. Convincing his Chicago draft board that he was the sole supporter of his wife and mother, he was granted exemption (RG65: OG-148433). Later in 1918 his travels took him to upper New York state and Ohio.

Beginning in 1919 Steve Kaslov's activities centered in New Jersey and New York city, where many families of Rusuya had settled in tenement housing in the Brownsville area of Brooklyn. It was in 1927, when he was living in New Jersey, that the newspapers began to refer to him as "king" (in 1925 and 1926 it was his brother who was given that title). On November 22, 1927, papers were filed in Passaic County, New Jersey, for the incorporation as a not-for-profit organization of The Red Dress Gypsies Association, with Steve Kaslov as president and himself, his wife, and one other Rom as trustees (PC). In 1931 and 1932 Kaslov was involved in a series of conflicts with Tinya Bimbo in which the two strong men traded charges in New York non-Gypsy courts. Kaslov was sentenced to state prison on Tinya's charges in May 1932, but the conviction was reversed in February 1933, the reversal, it appears, leaving Kaslov all the stronger.

The period of Steve Kaslov's greatest influence coincides with that of his relationship with Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt. Kaslov's correspondence with the president and first lady began in 1937 with a letter outlining Rom difficulties and a plea for aid (FDR: 1431, LE 1937). While Kaslov refers to an earlier interview with President Roosevelt during his term as governor of New York state, no record of that meeting has been found. At the suggestion of Harry L. Hopkins, administrator of the Works Progress Administration, Eleanor Roosevelt introduced Kaslov to Read Lewis, director of the Foreign Language Information Service, a social service agency in New York. Lewis organized a Committee on Gypsy Problems as part of the Welfare Council of New York City, a coalition of public and private agencies, and it may have been through him that Weybright and de Wendler-Funaro became involved. In 1939 a subcommittee began raising money to found a coppersmithing workshop, soliciting contributions from philanthropists and persons interested in Gypsies (Leeds: Weybright et al. to Dorothy Una McGrigor Phillips 3/27/39; CWF: Weybright to de Wendler-Funaro 2/28/39). The solicitation letter quoted from Eleanor Roosevelt's letter to Read Lewis (7/23/37). Romany Coppersmiths opened on June 26, 1939, with Steve Kaslov as its manager. In keeping with Rom economic organization, each worker was a partner in the business. On August 4, 1939, newspapers published an article by Eleanor Roosevelt on the workshop, one in a series of her columns under the rubric "My Day." Urging

institutions to send items to the workshop for repair, she promised that "they will get them back better than new" (Baltimore *Evening Sun*). On the same day Eleanor Roosevelt asked Read Lewis to have the Gypsies set a ginkgo stone in a gold brooch. The Rom made the brooch, although Lewis considered it less than successful from an aesthetic point of view and advised Mrs. Roosevelt to restrict further orders to copies rather than original designs (FDR: 1510). The workshop closed in May 1940 for lack of sufficient business (Weybright 1945:8).

In March 1940 adult education classes for Rom men opened as a project of the Works Progress Administration, an agency founded for economic relief during the Great Depression (*New York Herald Tribune* 3/21/40). Little more is yet known about the history and organization of these classes, although the press claimed that Mrs. Roosevelt had had a hand in this project as well (*New York Times* 3/20/40).

Kaslov's correspondence with the Roosevelts in late 1940 and early 1941 concerns the military draft for World War II and his book manuscript.

In October 1941 a telegram from Steve Kaslov invites Eleanor Roosevelt to a concert at New York's Town Hall, at which the Rusuya were expected to perform (FDR: 219). The All-Soviet Music Festival, featuring "new music" by Prokofiev, Shostakovitch, and less well-known composers, was presented by the leftist journal *New Masses*. Kaslov's group, whose only known public performance up to that date had been their radio appearance with Victor Weybright in 1938, were billed as the All-Russian Gypsy Chorus (*Daily Worker* 10/11/41). Virgil Thomson, the only critic to mention the Gypsies, did not stay to hear them (*New York Herald Tribune* 10/13/41). Eleanor Roosevelt's telegram declining the invitation closes the Roosevelts' correspondence with Steve Kaslov.

In March 1942 Kaslov testified in an effort to exempt a Rom from the military draft (*New York Sun* 3/2/42). In April he pleaded guilty to fraud, having misrepresented the facts in that case, and in June was sentenced to serve a year and a day in federal prison (*New York Times* 4/30/42, 6/2/42).

In March 1948 he was hospitalized in New York (*New York Sun* 3/15/48). He died of cancer February 16, 1949, in Philadelphia.

Steve Kaslov's political and social program is set forth in three documents: the incorporation of the Red Dress Gypsies Association (PC); Kaslov's letter to President and Mrs. Roosevelt of June 18, 1939 (FDR: 1431, LE 1937); and his radio broadcast of June 9, 1938 (NBC).

The purposes of the Red Dress Gypsies Association were

...to procure and maintain a stable habitation for the members of The Red Dress Gypsies Association and for that purpose to acquire the necessary land and erect and maintain sufficient and proper buildings for residence, business and other purposes of accommodation; to encourage and enforce, in co-operation with the Laws of the State, the education of the children of the members of The Red Dress Gypsies

Association; to procure congenial and healthful employment for the members of said The Red Dress Gypsies Association to take proper means and measures to discourage and prevent the too early marriage of the youthful members of the said Association; to promote wholesome and artistic entertainment and amusement for the members of the said Association as well as for the public at large, and in general to improve by all lawful means, the physical, material, moral and educational condition and present status of the members of The Red Dress Gypsies Association....

A press conference was held at the first meeting of the association, January 9, 1928; the association's aims were then summarized as: 1) purchase of land near Atlantic City, New Jersey, the price to be raised through entertainments; 2) Americanization of the Gypsies, "to change the Gypsies into real Americans;" 3) elimination of bride price, or its abuses (*Newark Evening News* 1/10/28; *Paterson Evening News* 1/11/28).

In his solicitation of aid from the Roosevelts, Kaslov outlined social and economic problems facing the Rom. He suggests that the Depression, which of course had occurred since the founding of The Red Dress Gypsies Association, was the cause of their problems, but goes on to list other causes. Hounding by abusive police, he says, has forced the Rom into cities from their preferred rural areas and has prevented them from making a living from fortune telling and copper work. (In his memoirs Kaslov takes credit for introducing the Rom to urban winter accomodation. This is also a story of innovation, but one of a voluntary move into cities). Illness is a consequence of this forced urbanization. He claims that most Rom in New York are living on welfare payments, but would prefer to be self-supporting. A colony is presented as the solution to these problems.

In his radio broadcast Kaslov expands on the demise of earlier Rom occupations, horse trading having been replaced by the automobile, and fortune telling being prohibited. The Rom lack an established reputation for success in the coppersmith business. "If only I could build a colony for them," he concludes.

It is the problems of the Rom as Kaslov presented them which attracted the sympathy and cooperation of non-Gypsies. These themes were repeated in the press and in popular magazines (Parry 1941; Pic 1941; Weybright 1938a). Many of Alexander Alland's photographs appeared to document Rom need (Volland 1992). Eleanor Roosevelt told her readers, "They are a sad people and a minority group I feel we should try to help" (*Baltimore Evening Sun* 8/4/39).

Steve Kaslov's plans for a colony formed the most elaborated part of his program. The colony was to be a place of residence, education, and business (PC). It was to have coppersmith and other metal work shops in which Rom would work at "silver plating, gold plating, nickel plating, as well as all kinds of metal spinning." Rom in the colony would "weave baskets, hats, chairs, etc." "They will not do any fortune telling." There would be hospitals and a theater where the Rom would entertain the paying public (FDR: 1431, LE 1937). A million dollar drive was

announced for “a great national center, where their ancient culture may be preserved from the encroachments of the modern skeptical civilization. They have in mind a huge amusement park...” (Baltimore *Evening Sun* 2/24/28). An architect’s plan was drawn up, “designed in the Russian style with turrets and an imposing gateway” (Weybright 1938b:145). Kaslov asked the Roosevelts for land (FDR: 1431, LE 1937).

The plan captured the imaginations of Kaslov’s non-Gypsy supporters. Weybright suggested the Ludar settlement at Maspeth, in the Borough of Queens, New York City, as a model. But Kaslov wanted government support for his colony (Weybright 1938a; for the Ludar settlement, see S. Salo 1986). Weybright then suggested a temporary demonstration colony to be established during the 1939 New York World’s Fair, financed by philanthropy and “under strict regulation of a lay group in cooperation with welfare, education and law enforcement officers” (Weybright 1938b:145). Eleanor Roosevelt, having read Weybright’s article, supported the proposal (FDR: 1951).

The Romany Coppersmiths workshop and the WPA adult education class may be seen as partial fulfillment of Kaslov’s plan. There was some ambivalence in his goal of Americanization and encouragement of education. When his son ran away from home, he blamed his delinquency on his public school attendance, which had led him to “want to be like [an] American” (*Newark Evening News* 2/5/30).

Kaslov’s control of access to the New York city welfare resources that became available during the Depression formed the basis of his power among the Rom (Groppe 1967). While he sometimes presented welfare as a solution to Rom problems (Weybright 1938b:145), at other times welfare dependence was presented as a problem: “We want to get off Home Relief” (Kaslov to Roosevelt 6/18/37, FDR: 1431, LE 1937). Kaslov begged Read Lewis to intervene with relief officials for the transfer of Rom doing WPA-sponsored work to home relief, claiming that the men were too ill to work, and, furthermore, would receive more money on home relief (Lewis to de Wendler-Funaro 4/2/38, CWF:2,2).

Marriage reform is the purely internal aspect of Steve Kaslov’s program. The Red Dress Gypsies Association had as one of its purposes to “discourage and prevent too early marriage” (PC), later interpreted as the elimination of bride price or its abuses (*Newark Evening News* 1/10/28). Weybright (1938b) sounds the theme of eliminating “child marriage.” In 1941, after announcing plans for the marriage of a couple whose ages were given as 10 and 12, Kaslov expressed his disapproval of child marriage, but cited the military draft and Rom economic organization, in which full partnership is limited to married males, as incentives to wed early (*New York Sun* 6/6/41).

While the tangible results of Kaslov’s program may have been short-lived, his influence on non-Gypsy discourse on Gypsies endured. His non-Gypsy

supporters in large part adopted the analysis of Rom social and economic change presented in his programmatic pronouncements. Through Weybright’s articles, particularly, the chronology and causes of Rom urbanization presented by Kaslov became accepted history.

Steve Kaslov’s agenda had precedents in those of earlier Rom leaders who announced programs to the non-Gypsy public. When Milano Baro, ‘Milan the Great,’ a Rom who drew power from his expertise in immigration matters (M. Salo and S. Salo 1986), landed in 1895 and again in 1897, he announced his intention to found a colony “out West” (*New York Sun* 7/19/1895) or in Louisiana or Kentucky (*New York Tribune* 7/16/1897). In 1910 his program included founding a colony; encouraging the Rom to cease traveling and become farmers; and marriage reform, the abolition or reduction of bride price (Washington, DC, *Evening Star* 7/22/10).

In 1907 the program put forth by Milano’s brother-in-law, Zlačo Demitro, includes the cessation of travel, the formation of a colony in South Dakota, and the establishment of a school for the colony (*New York Herald* 1/27/07). In 1908 Mačwaya Rom incorporated the National Gypsy Association of America, whose goals were greater harmony among Gypsies, permanency of residence, fulfillment of Gypsies’ obligations as US citizens, and education of their children in public schools (*St. Louis Globe-Democrat* 3/6/08).

In 1925 a Rom referred to as a leader espoused an end to fortune telling (although phrenology was considered acceptable), and the encouragement of settlement, Americanization, and education (*New York Times* 2/13/25). In 1932 Steve Stanley, a Detroit leader, announced a program of Americanization; settling down to “lawful ways” and “American” trades; education; discarding “flashy clothing” in favor of “American dress;” and the prohibition of bride price (*Detroit News* 7/17/32).

The history of the Steve Kaslov memoirs is unclear. In notes for his own manuscript intended as an introduction to Kaslov’s, Carlos de Wendler-Funaro claims that at their first meeting, Lolya “unfolded his great plan to ‘make a book about my people.’ He then proceeded to dig out a battered trunk from beneath a lot of bedding and old clothes, and what was my surprise when he brought forth...copybooks written out for him by some lawyer friend. There were...remembrances of Lolya’s travels from Valdosta, Ga. (where he was born) down thru the San Francisco earthquake and fire and the vicissitudes of his tribe in their wanderings over the States and Mexico” (CWF). Later de Wendler-Funaro suggests that Kaslov dictated portions of the memoirs to him. The first public mention of Kaslov’s manuscript occurs in June 1941 (*New York Sun* 6/20/41; *New York Herald Tribune* 6/20/41). Kaslov sent a manuscript to Eleanor Roosevelt sometime before November 1940; in November Mrs. Roosevelt sent it on to George

Bye, a literary agent. Bye planned to approach Scribner's publishing firm, tentatively entitling the manuscript "A Gypsy's Story," at the time indicating that "parts of the story have great charm" (FDR: 1540). In March 1941 Bye gave up the project and returned the manuscript to de Wendler-Funaro as Kaslov's collaborator. In his explanation to Eleanor Roosevelt's secretary, whom he seems to have known personally, Bye called it a "terribly disorganized manuscript," and the results of de Wendler-Funaro's editing "very unhappy." "I am afraid we are going to have to back out of the picture unless King Steve gets someone who understands the English language and publishers' requirements" (FDR: 1592). "The Ways of My People" appears to be a title suggested by de Wendler-Funaro.

Lolya's unrealized hopes for publication then became subsumed in de Wendler-Funaro's own ambitions, also to be unrealized, for a book to include Lolya's memoirs and his own experiences of meeting Gypsies the world over. Judging from his notes, de Wendler-Funaro worked on the project sporadically through 1975.

It seems that the present manuscript, then, consists of portions dictated to an earlier unnamed scribe, portions composed and others transcribed verbatim by de Wendler-Funaro, all edited and reedited by de Wendler-Funaro. De Wendler-Funaro's Gypsy materials were located by Matt T. Salo, and in May 1985 de Wendler-Funaro's widow donated them, including the Kaslov manuscript, to the Archives Center of the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution (S. Salo 1986).

In addition to the excerpt presented here, the manuscript includes "Chaiko's Story," a legendary history of the first Rom arrivals in America "as Lolya heard it from his father who heard it from his father" (CWF 1:12). The memoirs proper, "Lolya's Story," include a fanciful account of the meeting and marriage of Lolya's father and mother, here presented as a Cherokee Indian, in accordance with a claim first made in the family's efforts to prove American citizenship on the Mexican border in 1918 (S. Salo 1992:68). There are two accounts of marital disputes, in one of which Steve Kaslov is presented as chief and judge. A long account of the conflict among Rom in Conway, South Carolina in 1912 presents Steve as a judge in the case; in those aspects of the case brought to non-Gypsy courts he was actively involved in bringing charges against other Rom (HC). A very long account of Kaslov's conflict with Tinya Bimbo appears to draw on trial transcripts. The account of difficulties Lolya's brother encountered with child welfare authorities in New York appears to be the most recent of the incidents.

While it would be preferable to hear a single voice—that of Steve Kaslov—in these memoirs, the history of the manuscript does not permit us to determine with certainty the authorship of any portion. In order not to add yet another voice, I have

edited the excerpt presented here as little as possible; this approach has meant retaining the non-standard English of the original.

As we are uncertain which parts are Lolya’s and which de Wendler-Funaro’s, we are also uncertain whose organization of the incidents recounted is represented. It is tempting to see the change from third to first person narration which occurs in the middle of the section as a literary device marking the beginning of Lolya’s portrayal as a leader. But is this indeed a literary device, or an artifact of incomplete editing?

The excerpt presented here touches on economic, social, and political organization of the Rom in the United States in the first quarter of the twentieth century. It deals with the details of making a living—fortune telling, horse trading, and coppersmith work—with conflict and its resolution, with celebrations and with everyday life. Kaslov explains and illustrates Rom culture—“our rules”—in the context of specific incidents. He illustrates the advantages and disadvantages of the Gypsy camp’s serving simultaneously as an attraction, a place of business, and a residence. He shows train and wagon travel as alternate modes of transportation. He teaches how to celebrate Easter, a saint’s day, and a wedding. As the story of Lolya’s leadership and how he came to be a leader, the memoirs contain much of self-promotion. There is much, as well, intended to support Kaslov’s political agenda of 1940. But in the details over which Lolya lingers is revealed another stratum of his interests, the arrangements of work, marriages, dispute settlement, the ever-changing yet constant stories of social and political relationships which are the interests of ordinary Rom.

Notes

Acknowledgments. The memoirs are published with the kind permission of the Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

¹Cultural concepts to which Kaslov refers in his narrative are described and analyzed in several ethnographies of the Rom; for this group in the United States, Gropper (1975), and Sutherland (1975); in Canada, M. Salo and S. Salo (1977); in France, Williams (1984).

²Pennsylvania's state law requiring "any roving band or bands of nomads, commonly called gypsies" to obtain a license in each county in which it intends to "pitch or settle its or their encampment, or carry on its or their business or transactions, or practice their craft" was passed May 6, 1909. The license indeed cost, as Kaslov indicates, \$50 plus 50 cents issuance fee. Rarely enforced, the law was repealed in 1986 (Pennsylvania 1956).

³The apparent precision in dating is misleading. To judge from his marginal notes, Carlos de Wendler-Funaro inserted the dates, calculating from faulty information, especially the date of the first Rom landing in America, and the date and place of Steve Kaslov's birth.

⁴Immigrants who became "public charges" risked deportation. Any extant case files of Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children have not yet been studied for references to Gypsies. It does appear, however, that Kaslov's references to child welfare organizations are inspired by incidents more recent than the period he deals with here; another portion of the manuscript tells the story of his brother's difficulties with the "children society" (CWF).

⁵Today Rom celebrate St. Mary's Day, the Feast of the Assumption, on August 15, where it falls on the Roman Catholic calendar, on August 28, by the Orthodox calendar, or on a day between the two.

⁶Apparently an error, since they already are in Florida.

⁷Belongings were carried in canvas bags in shapes and sizes to fit the purpose.

⁸The Rom used ordinary tradesmen's delivery wagons.

⁹Other Rom have expressed a similar "romantic" view of camp life. Kent (1975) refers to the nostalgia of her informant as "the beautiful view." A Rom of one of the Canadian lineages, born in 1916, reminisced,

I used to go away from the camp, oh, from here to 'crost the street, and I used to watch it. Listen to the talk, look at the ways, what they're doing. Just like an outsider, we'll say. It was amazing. You know. A surprise every minute. Somebody comes out with something, want a daughter-in-law, or this girl run away with that boy, that boy run away with that girl, they don't want to give her, they're having trouble about the money, they're fighting, they're arguing. Then the cooking, and you know, the general routine of the Gypsy life, you know. And it was great when there was ten-

twelve camps, or even fifteen-twenty camps together. It was beautiful. Beautiful. (M. Salo 1978: 105).

¹⁰Lolya’s wedding, August 23, 1908, was one of several celebrated at the camp at West Roxbury, Boston, Massachusetts. There are many newspaper accounts of the camp, and some coverage of Kaslov’s wedding (*Boston Evening Transcript* 8/24/08; *Boston Herald* 8/25/08). William MacLeod’s report on the camp (1909:86) includes a brief meeting with Lolya’s mother.

¹¹The departure was preceded by postponements, legal advice, and negotiations with the Boston Board of Health (referred to as the sheriff by Kaslov).

About 3 o’clock the first wagon climbed out of the hollow....Then another wagon climbed up part way and a wheel came off. It rolled over and over and tangled horses, men and harness up in a hopeless mixture. Then the drivers got out of the pile and cursed the chief. He was to blame, they said. Other wagons, one bearing the sign “Q Express Company,” got out safely, and everything went well until a big, heavily-laden ex-show “chariot,” with a diminutive team, stuck squarely in the middle of the hill. Everybody had to lend a helping hand, and everybody again cursed the king.... Just as the sun dropped below the horizon the last of the parti-colored wagons disappeared around a bend (*Boston Herald* 8/26/08).

¹²Rusuya were reported wintering in houses and flats in the Brownsville area of Brooklyn, New York, as early as 1902, and in apartments in that neighborhood in 1914 (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1/2/02, 1/18/14, 1/21/14; *New York Times* 1/19/14). Storefront dwellings were first noted in Atchison, Kansas in 1904 (*New York Tribune* 4/24/04), and became common in several cities about 1920.

¹³The American Rom are the descendants of families whose immigration to the United States took place primarily between 1895 and 1914 (M. Salo and S. Salo 1986). The term *Rom* is used here to refer exclusively to that group. Following Kalderaš usage, it has the same form in both singular and plural.

As a full treatment of American Rom political organization is beyond the scope of this essay, I use the neutral term “leader.” The subject is treated in Gropper (1967, 1975), M. Salo and S. Salo (1977), and Sutherland (1975).

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BOOK REVIEWS

Bortom all ära och redlighet: Tattarnas spel med rättvisan. Birgitta Svensson. Stockholm: Nordiska Museet (Box 27820, 115 93, Stockholm, Sweden), 1993. 275 pp. (cloth). 236 Swedish crowns. Nordiska museets Handlingar 114. ISBN 92-7108-352-9.

Lars Lindgren

Bortom all ära och redlighet is Birgitta Svensson's dissertation in ethnology. Relying on Michel Foucault's theories concerning outsiders and their role in the production of changes in society, she sets out to examine relationships between Swedish society and Swedish Travelers for a period of 200 years, from the 18th century up to the postwar era.

Swedish Travelers do not stand in focus here as an ethnic minority, but rather are seen as co-agents in the process of change which brought about the Swedish welfare state. Svensson's perspective is restricted to the appearance of Travelers in certain sources. She does not attempt to describe the group from within. She also maintains the terminology of the majority, using the stigmatized "tattare" throughout, rather than the terms preferred by the members of the group itself, "rommano," or "resande," 'travelers.'

According to Svensson the Travelers scarcely exist as an ethnic minority. Fundamental to her thesis is the idea that the "tattar" identity arose and was shaped in the interaction between groups of outcasts and representatives of society in their functions at different levels. Hence "tattar" identity has no original core of its own, but is the result of a self-perpetuating and gradual realization of a social construction.

From this perspective the Travelers were outgroups which underwent the same process of change as the rest of society when it moved from an agrarian to an industrial society. Travelers emerged at certain points in the social terrain, leaving

Lars Lindgren is a history student at the University of Växjö. Formerly Executive Officer of Romany Affairs at the Swedish Immigration Board, he has done genealogical studies on his own and other Traveler families in the Nordic countries. He is chairman of the Swedish Romany organization "Resandefolket" and secretary of the Nordic Romany Council. Mailing address: Hässleberg, S-570 32 Hjärtevad, Sweden.

traces in court records, municipal protocols, police records, the press, folklore, and so on. Through these records Svensson has studied how Travelers acted and how they were perceived and treated. She concludes that the Travelers developed a more and more deviant way of life, from family life and marital mores to general concepts of honesty.

During the process Travelers served to make power discernible and also came to serve as negative examples in the execution of power. This became most visible in the period just before World War II, when the modern welfare state was about to emerge. Today in a highly organized society this "tattar" identity, seen as a contradictory one, seems to leave no alternatives between full assimilation and the assumption of an entirely criminal identity for its bearers.

Ever since Adam Heymowski's dissertation appeared (1969) it has been taken for granted within the social sciences and humanities in Sweden that ethnicity has little or no bearing on these issues. Heymowski concluded that the assumption, common up to that time, that Swedish Travelers were descendants of Romanies (Gypsies) who had come to the country as mercenaries and craftsmen or tradesmen, was a misconception. According to him the Travelers represented socially isolated groups connected with stigmatized occupations, owning no land of their own.

Svensson retains this thesis and lets it form the basis of her study with its Foucaultian perspective. I believe that the question of the Swedish Travelers' Romany or non-Romany origin is long overdue for reexamination. For the time being the issue should at least be kept open.

Svensson's study is concentrated upon two family lineages descended from Gert Lindgren, Anders Holmström, and Abraham Rolin. These ancestors of the Traveler families which Svensson studied were most probably of Romany identity. Heymowski himself refers to Anders Holmström as being of Gypsy stock. Eighteenth century sources frequently refer to Per Jönsson Hallbom-Lindgren as "ziguenare." He is named as the father of Gert Lindgren and the father-in-law of the two others (see Lindgren and Lindvall 1992, Bergstrand 1970, Etzler 1944).

Svensson's description of Swedish society in the 19th and 20th centuries is compatible with modern historical research and does not in itself represent anything new. Since her study is limited to two families within a limited geographic area, and that only when they are mentioned in the materials she uses, one must question seriously whether this study can be generalized to the Traveler population of Sweden at large. Svensson herself scarcely discusses this perspective. Neither does she discuss the difference between the fields of discourse (courts, the press, and so forth) and her own narrative style in summing up her sources. When she should be dealing with a highly abstract and restricted subject—the Travelers' identity as seen through the sources—she also claims to "describe their lives," a purpose for

which her source material is merely suggestive and which confirms long-standing stereotypes.

Whether Travelers or other outgroup make power and norms more articulate and visible is a theory which, apart from its most trivial sense, remains only a theory to me. Had Svensson been content to portray common views in society and official views on Travelers there would not have been much to criticize. However, when she goes on from the perceived "tattar" identity, disregards the yet unresolved problem of their origin, and proceeds to formulate a wider concept of "tattar" identity, the true difficulties arise. Questions of the nature of the language, religion, social norms, etc. of the Travelers at, say, the beginning of the 19th century, become of paramount importance.

Likewise it should be noted that the sources used are highly biased, for example, court records. The backbone of her genealogical research consists of documentation compiled by the police authorities in Malmö in the 1930s. This was a period when official Sweden focused heavily on Travelers as deviants and misfits. As Svensson rightly maintains, they served well the pseudo-modernist ideological perspectives of those days when "racial hygienics" was a respected tool in social engineering.

By treating the police documentation, official and secret material, with a tacitly ironic perspective, Svensson acts as if racist perspectives were irrelevant to discuss. That the Swedish academic community of today tends to look at Travelers as a purely social construction is in itself quite understandable considering the inflammatory power of these issues following a period in which racial hygienic theories were constructed on a par with those of the Nazis in the '30s and '40s. However, there is little meaning in trying to maintain a thesis for ideological convenience in this question as in any other.

The publication of this book came as a total affront to many Travelers in Sweden. One might guess that any book would have been met with strong reactions, but in this case the reasons for anger are easily identified. Svensson reproduces police material with photographs and names, and many Travelers were able to recognize family members.

The book's title is translated in the English summary (pp. 241-249) as "Miles from Civilization," which does not, perhaps, sound very harsh. The literal translation, however, is "Beyond All Honor and Honesty," which includes a pun. This pun, however, requires the smug coziness of an academic milieu in order not to function as a further stigmatization. Many of us also question the generally dark image in which Travelers are portrayed primarily as criminals, deceitful and unreliable. The main fault here lies in Svensson's split ambition to do two things at the same time—to portray Travelers as perceived through society and to narrate a colorful and slightly exotic story.

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Die Zigeunerin in den romanischen Literaturen. *Hans-Dieter Niemandt.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang (Jupiterstr. 15, CH-3000 Bern 15, Switzerland; 62 W. 45th St., 4th fl., New York, NY 10036, USA), 1992. 331 pp., paper DM 89; \$58.80 (paper). Studien zur Tsiganologie und Folkloristik, vol. 6. ISBN 3-631-43665-3.

Thomas K. Wolber

Hans Dieter Niemandt's study is essentially the publication of a dissertation that was accepted at the University of Göttingen in 1955. Only minor changes were made for this edition. The book's focus is the image of the female Gypsy in the Romance languages. Since the amount of information is overwhelming, the author had to be selective. The bulk of his material deals with representations of Gypsy women in French, Italian, and Spanish literature. Few examples of Catalan, Portuguese, and Provençal are provided, and Rumanian literature is disregarded altogether.

The first chapter attempts to summarize the ethnographic and historical research about the Gypsies, e.g., their first appearance in and subsequent distribution over Europe. Niemandt emphasizes that many important anthropological, historical, and social questions concerning the Gypsies remain unanswered.

Since Italy was not united until the 19th century, measures against the Gypsies were not implemented uniformly in this country. Hence, the historical and literary presence of gypsies was more constant and continuous there than in most

Thomas Wolber is Assistant Professor of German at Ohio Wesleyan University (Delaware, OH 43015). He is working on a book about the image of Gypsies in contemporary German literature.

other European areas. The first literary appearance of Gypsies in Italian literature was in the so-called “zingaresca”—a popular poetic genre of astrological and prophetic content. In many of these poems, the “zingara” was portrayed as a strong and powerful sorceress, dominating the forces of nature and the underworld. In the 16th century, Gypsies entered the Italian comedies (Giancarli, Marzi, and others). They were portrayed not so much as “gefährliche Schurken” (“dangerous criminals”) but as “gerissene Halunken” (“cunning foxes,” p. 45). Around 1850 Gypsies also entered the operas of Verdi and others. In prose, however, they hardly played any role. The author was able to find few noteworthy depictions of female Gypsies, even in 20th century novels. Italian literature does not seem to have taken part in the “Wandel in der literarischen Darstellung” (“change in the literary depiction,” p. 186) that occurred elsewhere in 19th century Europe.

The first Spanish Gypsies are documented in the 15th century, but not until the 16th century did they enter the theatrical stage. The female Gypsy acted as a “Sängerin, Tänzerin und besonders als bettelnde Wahrsagerin und Verkäuferin von Zaubertränken” (“singer, dancer, and especially as a fortune teller and saleswoman of magic potions,” p. 65). Surprisingly few instances are found in the picaresque novel. They were basically limited to descriptions of small Gypsy bands living an isolated and hard life in the mountains. The first important work of literature in which Gypsies played a dominant role was Miguel de Cervantes’ novella *Gitanilla* (1613). Cervantes describes Preciosa as chaste, beautiful, and educated, “ein Musterbild der Reinheit und Tugend” (“a model of purity and virtue,” p. 73). This positive image influenced the European perception for centuries to come. Later centuries saw the birth of the “Gitanismo” or “Flamenquismo” movement, especially in Andalusia. Unlike in other European countries, Gypsies were no longer considered a “fremdes Volk” (“foreign people,” p. 288), but were seen as a sedentary and integrated part of the land and the people. As such, they even became involved in the struggle for a more just social order. It is not a coincidence that in the Spanish-speaking world of today, the Andalusian writer Federico García Lorca is regarded “als der Dichter des Zigeunertums” (“as the poet of Gypsy culture,” p. 310) since he grew up in the environment of Gypsies and spoke their language early on.

In French literature, the first “Egyptians” appeared around 1600. Both in prose and on stage it became fashionable to emulate Italian and Spanish models. Eventually, beautiful Gypsy dancers and singers even found entry in high society. The Gypsy motif was common in all genres of French literature. Prosper Mérimée’s *Carmen* has remained “die bekannteste und umstrittenste moderne Zigeunergestalt” (“the most famous and most controversial modern image of a Gypsy,” p. 216). For some, his demonic heroine is the epitome of Gypsy essence, yet others have called

it a "caricature" or "travesty" of true Gypsy life. Closer to reality was George Sand's *La filleule* (1864). In Niemandt's assessment, this novel contains the "gelungenste und tiefste Charakterisierung einer Zigeunerin in der ganzen europäischen Literatur" ("the most successful and profound characterization of a female Gypsy in all of European literature," p. 235).

A separate chapter is devoted to travel reports. Not until Rousseau did travelers see Gypsies less as uncivilized pagans, criminals, or even cannibals than as "wertvollere, weil natürliche Menschen" ("natural and therefore more valuable people," p. 135). This infatuation with the "noble savage" is exemplified by Franz Liszt's book *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (1859). At around the same time, the first books of scholarly value were being written. A. Colocci (Italy), Francisco de Sales Mayo (Spain), Paul Bataillard and Francisque-Michel (France), and George Borrow (England) provided "unvoreingenommene Schilderungen des echten Zigeunerlebens" ("unbiased descriptions of real Gypsy life," p. 159).

Niemandt's *Die Zigeunerin in den romanischen Literaturen* furnishes a useful overview of the Gypsies' literary reception in Italy, Spain, and France—the first in the German language, if I am not mistaken. Having been written in the 1950s, however, the book's value is limited in several respects. For instance, it deals exclusively with literature *about* Gypsies, not *by* Gypsies. The only noteworthy example he mentions is Matéo Maximoff's famous novel *Les Ursitory* (1946), to which he devotes two pages. As far as contemporary anthropological, ethnic, and social paradigms are concerned, Niemandt's study is likewise not up to date. The reader learns little about the Romany language, literature, and culture. For instance, nowhere does the author acknowledge the existence of distinct Gypsy populations, and the Romany words he quotes can be counted on one hand. Of course, the fact has to be kept in mind that the book was not intended as a study of Gypsy communities but rather of their representation in non-Gypsy literature. Furthermore, because the dissertation examines such a plethora of poems, dramas, and novels in which Gypsies play a role, Niemandt had to proceed summarily. Inevitably, many of his observations are general and superficial. If used as a reference tool or as an annotated bibliography, the book has merit. But as a critical study it does not have the intellectual caliber and analytical depth of more distinguished dissertations such as Frank T. Dougherty's *The Gypsies in Western Literature* (1980) or Audrey C. Shields' *Gypsy Stereotypes in Victorian Literature* (1993). Another drawback is that Niemandt's work contains neither a bibliography nor an index. Since the book's arrangement is not based on countries of origin (as in this review) but rather in a chronological fashion, one must read several disjointed chapters to obtain a complete picture of, let's say, the Gypsy motif in Italian literature.

In spite of these limitations, the publication of Niemandt's hitherto unavailable dissertation is a welcome contribution and a sign that the field of Gypsy studies in Germany is once again healthy and robust. Many of the recent accomplishments are due to the relentless efforts of Joachim S. Hohmann and his book series *Studien zur Tsiganologie und Folkloristik* in which this volume appeared as number six.

Kinderroof of Zigeunerroof? Zigeuners in kinderboeken. [Child Abduction or Gypsy Abduction? Gypsies in Children's Literature]. *Jean Kommers*. Utrecht: Jan Van Arkel (Alexander Numankade 17, 35 72 KP Utrecht, The Netherlands), 1993. 112 pp. 24.50 guilders (paper). ISBN 90-6224-305-3.

Dagmar Halff-Müller

The open fire barely lights the brown faces in which black eyes show the signs of cruelty and rudeness, left there by drunkenness and crime.

The above description of a group of Gypsies appears in a Dutch children's book written in 1922.

In *Kinderroof of Zigeunerroof?* Jean Kommers, a Dutch anthropologist working under the auspices of "Lau Mazirel," an organization concerned with Romani people, analyzes aspects of Gypsy life as represented in literature for children and young people written by Dutch authors or translated into the Dutch language over the past 150 years. Kommers' central hypothesis is that Gypsies are portrayed in children's literature in a strongly biased way, thus distorting children's perception of Gypsies at a very early age.

Kommers also states that this bias is not simply a literary technique. Where Gypsies are often portrayed as abductors in literature, Gypsies and their reputation are abused on xenophobic grounds and for didactic purposes.

The author unfolds these hypotheses in three sections. The first presents an analysis of child abduction and kidnapping in relation to Gypsies. The second contains an anthology of children's and young people's literature in which Gypsies play an important role. The third section provides an extensive bibliography, containing more than 400 titles of children's books and newspaper articles in which Gypsies are featured.

Dagmar Halff-Müller is a graduate student in cultural and social anthropology at the University of Leiden, The Netherlands. Mailing address: 1251 Flagler Drive, Mamaroneck, NY 10543.

In drama and literature the concepts of conflict and contrast are favored structural techniques to excite and to fascinate readers (van den Bergh 1983:44). In literature, however, kidnapping and child abduction seem to be exclusively linked to Gypsies.

Moreover, the topic of child abduction committed by Gypsies, should not be dismissed as a mere narrative technique (p. 8). According to the author the matter is much more fundamental and the question should be asked, "What does it tell us about the writers who conjure up this picture?" and "What does it tell us about the social environment in which it is created?"

The motif of Gypsies as child abductors, ignoring any historic reality, is passed on from generation to generation. It has become part of a tradition in literature which resulted in Gypsies really being taken for child abductors and kidnappers.

Moreover, the persistent and stubborn misrepresentation of Gypsies in literature points to the existence of an underlying structure which reveals that Gypsies are "used" in literature for didactic purposes (p. 45).

It is out of their own fear of "the unwelcome stranger" that educators and writers, through the image of Gypsies as kidnappers, create a direct link between a civilized (good) and a savage (evil) culture (p. 49).

In the present work, the author provides the reader with an understanding of these issues of stereotype by focusing on their roots in children's books.

Kommers discusses literature as an element of the dominant culture, making clear that the negative labeling of the Gypsy minority is fundamental rather than accidental.

In an information sheet by the International Romani Union (reproduced in Ross 1992:63), Ian Hancock and Nicolae Gheorghe present their analysis of institutionalized prejudice against the Romani people. Among a number of sources they mention

the association in mediaeval Christian doctrine of lightness with purity, and darkness with evil. The earliest church accounts, documenting the arrival of Roma, allude to their darkness of complexion, and the inherent evil this must demonstrate.

Tendencies of prejudice toward Romani people in literature have not disappeared yet. In spite of the efforts made in modern literature towards "political correctness," old misrepresentations die hard.

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Information for Contributors

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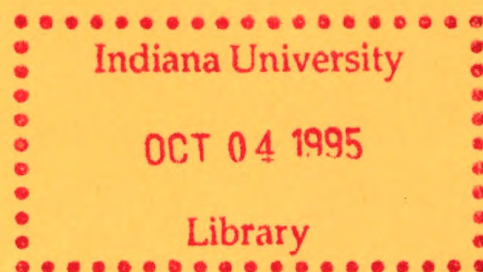
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William G. Lockwood
Sybil Milton
F. David Mulcahy

David J. Nemeth
Patricia Stanley Pinfold
Aparna Rao
Matt T. Salo
Sheila Salo
Carol Silverman
Anita Volland

A Gypsy Newspaper in Greece

Gordon M. Messing

Some Romani-language passages were published in a Greek-language newspaper of 1987. These examples of Romani written in the Greek alphabet are analyzed.

Although I had lived in Greece for a number of years after World War II, I had not heard until fairly recently of a Greek-language newspaper called (*Tsinganiki Foni*; Gypsy Voice). This publication, a copy of which was eventually sent to me by a friend, claims to be the “monthly organ of the Gypsies,” and its price is given as 70 Greek drachmas. The particular issue in my possession is dated June 1987, and is numbered 4 of the 4th year. (I have been told that it appears irregularly.) The name of the editor and director is given on page 1 as Sofia Stavrou, the only person identified as a member of the editorial staff. A photograph of this woman appears on the first page of the four-page newspaper along with that of Ioannis Vrisakis, “president of the Gypsies.” As of that date Sofia Stavrou appears to be in her mid-thirties to early forties. The accompanying Greek text, in question and answer format, begins with a direct question, “What problems do you have?” He answers just as directly, “Housing, since because of housing our children remain illiterate; for that reason with much good will we are petitioning the State.” The interviewer counters, “How do they receive you?” His answer is cautiously optimistic, citing his appeal for funds to sponsor an international conference of Gypsy leaders in Athens.

Another article on page 1 contains another interview by Sofia Stavrou, this time with Dimitris Soulmiotis, the mayor of Agia Varvara. He promises to try hard to help the Gypsies of Agia Varvara to solve their problems. There are three other articles on page 1. One deals with illiteracy among Greek Gypsies and is continued on page 2. Another enigmatically entitled “The Truth (behind the) Falsehood,” again signed by Sofia Stavrou, seems to be contrived as an editorial attack on her unidentified foes. Finally, a short article entitled “The Gypsies in Yugoslavia” is

Gordon M. Messing is Emeritus Professor of Classics and Linguistics at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

conspicuous in a different way. This snippet of a text in Greek Romani written in the Greek alphabet with a title in Greek is followed by a translation into Greek. I think this use of Greek letters to write a text in Greek Romani is of considerable significance.

I have tried elsewhere to document this same use of the Greek alphabet as a medium for written communication in Greek Romani. Literacy in Greek seems to be a prerequisite. Not surprisingly, literacy is on the rise among Greek Gypsies in such urban centers as Athens and Thessaloniki. There has been a steady increase in school attendance among Greek Gypsy children since the end of World War II. Not only do Gypsy children tend to enroll for a longer period in the public schools; some few go on to attend Greek secondary schools. A very few enroll in a university mainly with a view to obtaining a degree in medicine or dentistry. This is a new development in Greece. As an ethnic minority, the Gypsies are still particularly distrusted or despised by the average Greek; nonetheless, it is reasonable to suppose that the Greek Gypsies are economically better off than they were in 1945. It has even been maintained that they are now better off than Gypsies in the other Balkan countries when we take into account the terrible war raging in former Yugoslavia, the displacement of many Gypsies into Germany where they confront an uncertain fate, and the turmoil of Gypsy life in Bulgaria and Romania, not to speak of the chaos in Albania. I find it impressive that Greek Gypsies tend increasingly to do their compulsory military service, and I have learned that at least some Gypsies are now earning more than before by their business transactions. These are intangibles, but they lead me to believe that Gypsy life in Greece has taken a turn for the better.

The adult Gypsies in Agia Varvara are all bilingual in Greek and Romani. Romani, however, is primarily intended for oral communication. Up to now, it has hardly figured at all as a written language in Greece. This is in sharp contrast to the written use of Romani for literary purposes in other Balkan countries. Why should this be the case? For one thing, even Greek Gypsies who have gotten as far as Greek secondary school will most likely know only one alphabet, Greek. There is as yet no great number of such persons. Finally, there is very little opportunity to write and publish articles and poems in Greek Romani. Only a few popular songs in Romani have been recorded in Greece. Those hitherto available, I might note parenthetically, were especially valuable as texts for linguists, since the Greek authorities required both a transcription and a translation into Greek.

Given this situation, I took the opportunity a few years ago to choose and supply Greek texts to two educated Greek Gypsies who translated them for me into Greek Romani. I published these subsequently with notes on vocabulary and usage (Messing 1991a, 1991b).

Let me turn back now to Sofia Stavrou and her Greek-language newspaper. I am unable to say whether she is still contributing a large part of the copy. I have

heard that she was endeavoring to sell copies of the newspaper. It contains no advertising except for a small notice (bottom of page 4, center column) which announces a printing establishment of the Brothers Papadopoulos. This issue contains six photographs of Gypsies and a number of articles concerned with the Gypsies of Agia Varvara. On page 2 space is given over to poetry, a small portion of which is furnished in Romani and Greek while most appears only in Greek translation. (This poetic material strikes me as too high-flown for straight-forward philological comment.)

Another tiny bit of translation into Romani follows a passage in Greek with the heading, "When the Gypsy Dies." The passage ends with the words (in Greek): "When they make lament for the corpse, they say, weeping, 'my aristocratic child, my good child, my king, my beautiful child.'" These last words, under a separate title in Greek (Gypsy Lament) appear in Romani as follows (I have normalized the spelling in the transliteration):

Μο κιμπάρ ιτσαβό, μολατσό τσαβό, μοταγκάρ, μοσουκάρ τσαβό.
Mo kibari tsavo, mo latso tsavo, mo tagar, mo sukar tsavo.

Here *tagar* 'king', a word of Armenian origin, is often aspirated as *thagar*. The word *kibari* 'aristocratic' occurs in the dialect of Agia Varvara, from Turkish *kibar* (see Messing 1988). It does not seem to be attested in other dialects, e.g. Sampson 1926 (1968); Gjerdman and Ljungberg 1963; Boretzky and Igla 1994.

In this issue of *Tsinganiki Foni* a particularly striking use of Romani (in Greek alphabet) is as follows, under a title in Greek, "Gypsies in Yugoslavia."

Αντι Γιουγοςλαβία γασαρλάρ μπουτ ρομά και ρεν μπουκί
αντί φάμπρικα ο αμπάβ ασταρέλ τριν γκιές ο αμπάβ σι τριν γκιεσά
ποκινέν εμπορά σε τριν τίπουρα μα γκινπέ νασαλιπέ μιγκινιπέ. Ο
κονγκρέσο ερντόλ αντεκαβά ομπρές αντί ατίνα αντάρ εμπισταπάν
πουδεά. Ερομά τεπενέν πεπροβλήματα.

Andi Yugoslavia yasarlar but roma. Ke ren (= keren) buki andi
fabrika. O abav astarel trin gyes. O abyav si trin gyesa. Pokinen embora se
trin tipura: maginpe, nasalipe, beginipe. O kongreso erdol andekava o bres
andi atina andar embistapan poudea. E roma tepenen (= te phenen) pe
provlimate.

This short but rather confused text is followed by a translation into Greek to the following effect.

Many Gypsies live in Yugoslavia. The Gypsies work in the factory. Gypsy marriage takes up three days. Marriage occurs in three varieties: for love, elopement, and sale. The groom pays for the bride in accordance with the Gypsy custom. The congress will take place this year in Athens. Gypsies will come from 25 countries. The Gypsies will tell of their problems.

While this Romani text can be reconciled roughly with this translation, there are some discrepancies and some of the Romani elements are somewhat skewed. Let us try to improve upon the text without any real distortion. I have numbered the sentences of the original and inserted the accents as given. Note that without the use of diacriticals the Greek alphabet cannot distinguish between *s* and *š*. It is also helpful to regularize word separation and punctuation. Our text in more conventional garb would be as follows.

1. And'i Yugoslavía yašarlár but romá.
 In Yugoslavia live many Gypsies.
Note the verbal form, *yašarlár*, present tense, 3rd person plural, from Turkish *yaşamek* 'live' (= 'be alive'). In my materials *traysaráv* or *trayáv* (from Rumanian *a trai* 'live' is more usual (Messing 1988).
2. Kerén bukf andf fábrica.
 They work (lit. make work) in the factory.
3. O abáv astarél trin gyes.
 (The) marriage occupies three days.
The Romani text uses *abáv* here but *abyáv* in the following sentence. (Only the latter form occurs in my materials; this could be a mere slip.)
4. O abyáv si trin gyesá.
 (The) marriage is three days.
A variant on the preceding sentence. No translation into Greek is given.
5. Pokinén e borá se trin tǵpura: maginpé, nasalipé, biginipé.
 They buy the bride (the brides?) in three ways: love, elopement, purchase.
The three words, *maginpé*, *nasalipé*, *biginipé*, are satisfactorily glossed by the Greek translation, but none occurs in my materials; *našalipé* 'abduction' is indeed listed in Boretzky and Igla, but I cannot readily match up the other two. Both the anonymous reviewer of this article and the editor of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* came up with the same clearly valid suggestions for a correct reading, *mangipé* and *bikinipé*, which I am adopting here.

My glossary lists *borí* for 'bride', but I had not elicited a plural. Here *e borá* could be either accusative singular or accusative plural. The Greek gloss seems to favor accusative singular, but either singular or plural accords with the sense.

I had not previously encountered *típura* as if irregular plural to Greek (*típos*).

6. O Kongrésso erdól andé kavá o breš andí Atína andár e biš-ta-pan(tš) poudéa.

The congress will occur in this year in Athens from (the) 25 countries. This passage is suspicious: the word for 25 has lost its final consonant cluster; *poudéa* is puzzling—in my Glossary *t(h)em* is the normal term for 'country', while *p(h)uv* means 'earth', 'ground'.

7. E romá te phenén pe provlímata.

The Gypsies are to tell of their problems. Here *te phenén* is presumably subjunctive while *provlímata* is a Greek word in plural.

As I pointed out earlier, this passage is quite short. Even so, several entries in the Greek Romani text are questionable. Nor am I satisfied by the so-called Greek translation. One sentence is not translated at all and where the original means "they buy the bride (the brides?)," the translation offers "the groom buys the bride." The translator also adds an illustrative comment not in the original à propos of the three varieties of acquisition of a bride: "in accordance with the custom, the Gypsy (custom)."

I am afraid these various irregularities shake my faith in the Romani text, which at the very least seems spoiled by great carelessness.

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Marginality and Language Use: The Example of Peripatetics in Afghanistan

Aparna Rao

In this paper data from Afghanistan are used to illustrate language use among peripatetic communities, who tend to have their own languages. Some of these languages may be "real," others may have been artificially created. Whatever their nature, they all serve as markers to strengthen socioeconomic cohesion in contexts of extreme marginality. They also act as means of communication unintelligible to the surrounding populations, on whom peripatetics depend economically, but with whom they entertain ambiguous and often hostile relations.

Introduction

Research on "Gypsy" culture in Europe first began in earnest with the discovery and analysis of the Romani language. The discovery that Romani is an Indo-European language also led researchers to try and look for the roots of this people in and around the Indian subcontinent. An epiphenomenon of these researches was the discovery of numerous itinerant populations in South Asia, the Middle East and Central Asia, whose traditional economy and survival strategies resemble those of traditional, itinerant "Gypsies" in Europe. All these groups also share a low social status in their respective environments. Some of these communities clearly speak a Romani dialect, while others clearly do not; still others speak languages which are foreign in their respective local contexts and may at times share elements of vocabulary with Romani dialects elsewhere. A clear case of analogy was, unfortunately, mistaken for homology and European travelers, researchers and later policy makers in Europe and the European colonies soon tended to lump

Aparna Rao is a social anthropologist at the Institut für Völkerkunde, Universität zu Köln, Albertus-Magnus-Platz, 50923 Köln, Germany.

together all primarily non-food-producing, nomadic, endogamous communities the world over and to label them as "Gypsies" (Rao 1985, 1987). This was, however, not a purely European phenomenon; in non-European contexts and languages there are generic terms for such peripatetic communities, such as *ukarebito* in ancient Japan (Ninomiya 1933:75), *hwach' ōk chaein* in Korea (Nemeth 1987), *nyamakala* among the Bambara (Bollig 1987), and *Ĵat* in Afghanistan.

In this paper I shall deal briefly with the languages spoken by these so-called *Ĵat*¹. These non-written languages are no doubt spoken by small minorities, but their very existence and use is yet another example of the social use of language as a marker. Originally none of these languages may have served the purpose of a marker, but many contemporary peripatetics, including some of the "*Ĵat*," do consciously use them in this manner. Consequently these languages like those used by peripatetics elsewhere (Bollig 1987, Casajus 1987), often become "secret" ones. In some parts of the world, the vocabularies of these "secret" languages are a remarkable mixture drawn from various languages, including at times Romani (Digard 1978:46-47; Lerch 1981; Rosander 1976:156). In the Middle East these vocabularies are "... 'gypsified' ... (by) the addition of various suffixes ... (the) transposition of syllables, etc." (Ivanow 1922:375).

The data presented here are based on field notes and recordings made in various parts of Afghanistan between 1975 and 1978. At the time of research all these communities were overwhelmingly itinerant (Olesen 1977; Rao 1979) and subsisted mainly from the sale of goods and more or less specialized services to sedentists in villages and towns, and occasionally to pastoral nomads. The population of each of these endogamous peripatetic communities varied between 2000 and 5000 individuals. Although each of these communities constituted an ethnic group (Rao 1986) and claimed a distinct ethnonym, most of them were generally lumped together (Rao 1988) under the generic term *Ĵat* (Rao 1992), which functioned as an exonym. The precise implications of this term varied somewhat between regions, but throughout the country its connotations were negative and to compare someone to a *Ĵat* was highly denigrating (Rao 1981, 1982, 1986).

Farhadi (1967:84, 1970:123) mentions *Ĵati* as being the language of "the *Ĵat*;" however, no language of this name was ever mentioned to me by any of my informants, either peripatetic or non-peripatetic. There also appears to be utter confusion in Grimes' (1988:428) list. However, a language mentioned by Debetz (1970:I, 168, 175; II, 18, 19) as being that spoken by "the *Ĵat*" in the neighborhood of the town of Jalalabad in East Afghanistan was encountered and shall be briefly discussed here. Debetz refers to this language as "enku" (see below). In the course of a general survey of peripatetic groups in Afghanistan, I was prompted to ask non-peripatetics which language(s) peripatetics whom they had met or knew of spoke among themselves, i.e. as their mother tongue. The same question was put to

peripatetics regarding members of other peripatetic communities. Further, peripatetics belonging to nine distinct communities were asked what their own mother tongue was. As far as possible, recordings were made of the latter. Table I indicates the various responses to the above questions. Since the ethnonyms used by some of the peripatetic communities were not generally known to non-group members, locally employed terms— exonyms such as *Bangriwāl* (Pašto), or *Čurifrōš* (< Dari or Afghan Persian [referred to generally as Fārsi]: *-forōš*, *-frūš*) for the *Vaṅḡawālā*, and *Čegēlbāf* for the *Ġorbat*—were used instead while questioning such informants.

Since it was not my purpose to determine dialect distance nor distinguish between language and dialect, the actual extent of mutual intelligibility (cf. Wolff 1959 for a discussion of problems in this field) was of less interest than the emic view of the various respondents. A total of 140 such views were obtained, 71 of these from non-peripatetics about peripatetics and 69 from peripatetics about members of other peripatetic communities. Numerous responses were obtained from peripatetics about their own mother tongue. Except in the case of the *Kuṭāṇa*, where the responses of group members and non-group members tallied 100%, there was great discrepancy in the answers given by group members on the one hand and non-group members on the other. A closer look at the responses of non-group members indicates the following: for the *Šayx Mohammadi* all answers mentioned Pašto; for the *Ĵōḡī* most respondents (66.6%) mentioned “own language” and the next largest number (19.0%) mentioned Urdu. The pattern of responses was somewhat different for the communities known collectively as *Ĵat*. For the *Baluč*, the difference in the answers giving *Baluči* (3), Fārsi, i.e. Persian as spoken in Afghanistan (2), and Pašto (1) was negligible, since the total number of informants was very small. For the *Ġorbat*, whereas Fārsi was most often cited (44.8%), “own language” (31.0%) and Urdu (24.1%) were also often given. For the *Ĵalāli*, the *Pikrāḡ*, the *Šādibāz*, and the *Vaṅḡawālā*, the majority of answers mentioned Urdu (60.0%, 55.5%, 75.0%, and 46.1% respectively) provided that the answers of non-group members (in this case other peripatetics) having the same (or very similar) maternal language as group members are ignored as obvious, and hence of no relevance here.

Members of the nine peripatetic communities cited in Table I themselves mentioned a total of six distinct languages; two of these (Pašto and *Baluči*) are widely spoken in the region by several other communities and a third (*Inku*) is probably akin to the *Hindko*, or *Hindki* spoken in parts of the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan and to certain other languages spoken widely in Central Pakistan. The three other languages mentioned by peripatetic informants are probably spoken exclusively by these groups, although as we shall soon see, they share certain elements of vocabulary with some languages recorded in Central Asia (Oranskij 1961, 1964, 1971, 1977, 1983). Here now is a brief account of a few of these peripatetic communities and their specific tongues. For Persian and all non-

Table 1
Responses received from various respondents in Afghanistan concerning the languages spoken by members of nine peripatetic communities in the country

Group (Endonym)	Group Members	Mother Tongue Cited By			
		Non-Group Members			
		Other Peripatetics		Non-Peripatetics	
Kuṭāṇā	Pašto	Pašto:	3 Vanḡawālā 2 Ğorbat	Pašto:	3 Paštun 1 Hazāra 1 Tajek
Šayx Mohammadi	Ādurgari	Pašto:	3 Vanḡawālā 2 Šādibāz 1 Ğorbat	Pašto:	6 Paštun 1 Tajek
Ĵōgī	Mogatibey Qāzulāgi Ġurbati	Own Language:	3 Ğorbat 2 Pikrāj 1 Ĵalālī	Own Language:	3 Turkomān 3 Tajek 1 Paštun 1 Uzbek
		Uzbaki:	1 Pikrāj	Urdu:	3 Tajek 1 Paštun
				Fārsi:	1 Tajek 1 Uzbek
Baluč	Baluči	Baluči:	1 Pikrāj	Baluči:	2 Paštun
		Fārsi:	2 Ğorbat	Pašto:	1 Hazāra
Ġorbat	Ġurbati Qāzulāgi Magadi	Fārsi:	5 Vanḡawālā 2 Šādibāz 1 Ĵōgī	Urdu:	5 Paštun 2 Tajek
		Own Language:	3 Vanḡawālā	Own Language:	4 Tajek 2 Hazāra 2 Paštun 2 Turkomān 1 Uzbek
Ĵalālī	Inku	Urdu:	3 Ğorbat	Pašto:	1 Turkomān
		Fārsi:	1 Ĵōgī		
Pikrāj	Inku	"A kind of Inku":	1 Pikrāj	Urdu:	1 Baluč
		Urdu:	2 Ğorbat 1 Ĵōgī		1 Turkomān
		Pašto:	2 Ĵōgī	Pašto:	2 Baluč
		"A kind of Inku":	2 Vanḡawālā	Fārsi:	1 Baluč
Šādibāz	Inku	Urdu:	4 Ğorbat	Urdu:	3 Paštun 2 Tajek
				Pašai:	2 Paštun 1 Tajek
Vanḡawālā	Inku	"A kind of Inku":	14 Pikrāj	Urdu:	5 Paštun 1 Tajek
		Inku:	5 Šādibāz		
		Pašto:	2 Ğorbat	Own Language:	2 Hazāra 1 Tajek
				Fārsi:	1 Hazāra
				Pašto:	1 Hazāra

Inku words and texts the system of transcription primarily follows that laid down by the Linguistic Atlas of Afghanistan; *â* represents an open back vowel. In Inku *n* preceding *g* and *k* is velarized (*ŋ*), while *ñ* represents nasalization. For Arabic the new English edition of the Encyclopædia of Islam has been followed. Accentuation and stress have not been marked, nor have place names and other geographical terms been transcribed.

Šayx Mohammadi

The only accounts so far published about this community are those of Olesen (1977, 1987). At the time of research most Šayx Mohammadi families spent winters mainly in the provinces of Ningrahar and Laghman in eastern Afghanistan, and summers in the provinces of Kabul, Parwan, and Logar. Most Šayx Mohammadi led a peripatetic life style and all adults spoke Ādurgari, in addition to Pašto and Dari. Ādurgari was spoken especially in the presence of unwanted non-group members and appeared to function somewhat like a secret language. Olesen (1987:36) has suggested that a

...detailed analysis of this language would, perhaps, indicate the predominance of a particular ethnic group, such as the Kohistani (of Parwan), among the Sheikh Mohammadi.

Unfortunately, no recordings were made of Ādurgari, but the following five substantives were noted by me in Jalalabad town among a family of the Telā-xēl subgroup: čamlai² = bread; danab³ = girl, woman; duka⁴ = house; lām⁵ = meat; rašuk⁶ = man.

Ĵōgī

Pronounced in Afghanistan *Ĵōgī* or *Jugī*, this community claims to be of Central Asian origin, and groups of Ĵōgī still live in parts of Tadjikistan (Oranskij 1961, 1983; cf. also Nazarov 1982/83:7). Informants said that their ancestors migrated back and forth between Bokhara and Afghanistan. "Juki" (Halebi 1983) have also been reported in Iran, Syria and Turkey. In the 1970s, the Ĵōgī lived and migrated within northern Afghanistan (Rao 1986a). Members of all four Ĵōgī subgroups called their mother tongue *Mogatibey*⁷; among one subgroup—the Ĵōgī-e Boxārāi—this was known alternatively as *Ġurbati*, and among the Ĵōgī-e Balxigi, another subgroup, as *Qāzulāgi*. No recordings could be made of this language, but the following substantives were noted among some families of Ĵōgī-e Boxārāi in Mazar Province, in northern Afghanistan: dalxāč⁸ = girl, daughter; dāwā⁹ = horse; dayā¹⁰ = father; gayā¹¹ = grass, medicinal plant; māmġīs¹² = mother; nārā¹³ = fortune telling; nuhur¹⁴ = eye; ojrā¹⁵ = winter house; pāčelā¹⁶ = foot; qars¹⁷ = kind of turban

worn by married women; qini¹⁸ = mens' shirt; rostawī¹⁹ = woman's scarf; sāyawān²⁰ = tent; xwārtoqi = sister (cf. Persian xwar); yadā, yadāk²¹ = hand; zōg, zug²² = boy, son.

Gorbat

The Ġorbat represented the single largest and most widely distributed peripatetic community in Afghanistan. Henry Field (1939:224) encountered "Ghurbat" in Iran who "...wandered as peddlers and blacksmiths all over Iran but paid revenue in Fars." For a discussion of the term Ġorbat see Rao (1983, 1995); also see Streck (1984:35). Ġorbat informants in Afghanistan claimed that their ancestors had come from further west and they all spoke Persian (in its local form) as fluently as their mother tongue, which they referred to generally as Ġorbati, as Magadi in Herat and as Qāzulāgi in the region of Kabul. Several recordings were made in this language and a word list was also compiled. The language was found to be a mixture of 1) Persian as commonly spoken in parts of rural Afghanistan; 2) Persian words rendered unintelligible to non-group members, especially by manipulation of phonemes; and 3) words of non-Persian origin.

A total of 218 words (167 substantives, 23 verbs, and 28 adjectives; cf. Rao 1982:225-226) considered by Ġorbat informants themselves to be exclusive to their mother tongue and unintelligible to non-group members with whom the Ġorbat had frequent contact, have so far been analyzed. Here is a sample of these words.

Substantives

alāji = two vertical blocks of wood used to bend the frame of a sieve or drum; arz = punishment inflictable on a member of the community; ādūr = peddling; kōka = nail; madaw = water; parāk = ear, xašpok = wood

Verbs

āndan = to be; bayānidan = to speak; maytidan = to die; xālidan = to eat; warsidan = to come

Adjectives

dāx = good, well; duwati = mediocre

Of this entire sample of 218 words 46 probably derive from contemporary Persian. Forty of these latter are the result of phoneme manipulation (initial phonemes = 22 cases, one phoneme = 4 cases, two phonemes = 7 cases, and three phonemes = 1 case). There are two cases of phoneme suppression and four cases of the addition of phonemes (one phoneme = 3 cases, more than one phoneme = 1 case). The most frequently encountered case of phoneme manipulation consists of

replacing the initial phoneme by the phoneme *m*; see Littmann (1920) for a similar phenomenon in the languages of some peripatetic populations in the Arabic-speaking Middle East. Thus:

bānjāni → mānjāni 'aubergine-colored'; kamar → mamar 'waist, back'; čuri → muri 'bangle'; suji → muji 'semolina'

An intermediary phoneme can also be replaced:

bāzār → bākār²³ 'market'; gardan → gargan²⁴ 'neck'

Occasionally, more than one phoneme is replaced: lab → map 'lip'

No case of inversion was noted in this sample. Of the sample of 64 terms derived from Persian, in nine cases suffixes had been added, the suffix *čak*—denoting the diminutive form—being the most frequent (five cases). Four nouns in the sample are untransformed Persian words which have acquired a different meaning:

Term	Meaning in Persian	Ġorbati
dāli	basket	cooking pot
dāna	grain	wheat ²⁵
nūr	light	eye ²⁶
qamar	moon	sun

Of the total sample of 218 terms, 11 are of a known non-Persian origin (7 = Indic, 3 = Arabic and 2 = Turkish). The overwhelming proportion of terms (143 = 65.5%) are, however, of an as yet unknown origin. References to 56 (38.0%) of these terms have so far been found in the literature pertaining to peripatetic groups in the Middle East and/or Central Asia. Much of this literature is cited below in the list of references.

Here now are a few sentences spoken by one informant in the Ġorbati language. These are followed by two texts, sung or spoken by two other informants, in the same language. In sentences 7 and 8 the Persian verb *xordān* (to eat) is perhaps transformed by *l* replacing *r* and *o* replacing *a*. In the fifth sentence we can observe an interesting amalgamation of Persian *bayān kardan* (to declare) → bayānidam, while in sentence 15 Persian *ʃor kardan* (to make) → ʃortum menār.

Sentences

1. tāy²⁷ nānim
tāy we are not
2. dāx²⁸ āni
well are you?
3. jāwēd-e²⁹ muri āna
wife-of I is
4. im līr³⁰ (mārya) bilut³¹ milojim
this night (we) hungry shall remain
5. salām bayānidam
greetings I speak
6. dil-m mešad kukbiāmārum čumāri³² : turi mānizi misl-e sipāhi
heart-my becomes that I tell cock: you go like (a) soldier
7. manā³³ meāxālā³⁴
bread he is eating
8. manā³⁵ biāxāl³⁶
bread eat (imperative)
9. biyākoč iš
catch it
10. du makum³⁷ warsiday³⁸
two men come (are coming)
11. (muri) bākār mānizam
(I) (imperative) bazar go (am going)
12. (turi) kudutām mānizi
(you) where go (are going)
13. yağ āt³⁹ kalūri⁴⁰ dārsanam
one piece cap (I) have

14. nenār
 don't do (it)
15. (muri) dāf jortum menāram
 (I) tambourine(s) make (am making)
16. bimunšān ke (ūryā) bānizan
 let that (they) may go
17. pālā⁴¹ na dārsanam manā waxarum
 money not I have bread to buy
18. mewaxaram yak du mārinj
 (I) am buying one two orange(s)

As already stated the vocabularies of peripatetic populations draw on a variety of languages. Any attempt to construct the etymologies of these vocabularies is a daunting task, and can not perhaps be accomplished conclusively at this stage, at least for Afghanistan. Not only do peripatetics migrate, so do words. Nevertheless in the following texts certain words have been marked in a preliminary fashion in an attempt to indicate their relation to current usage in other languages. Thus P = Persian, MP = phonemically manipulated Persian, TP = semantically transformed Persian, I = Indic, A = Arabic not generally used in Afghan Persian. All unmarked words are of an as yet unidentified origin. The sign / indicates a new line of the verse or a new sentence.

Text 1

A Marriage Song Recorded in a Summer Camp Near Istalif, 1976

čangawi ⁴²	biārsonem
henna	(you [plural]) bring

TP	P	P	MP	TP	P	P
nūrit ⁴³	ajab	ast	mošay	nūrit ⁴⁴	ajab	ast/
eye	your	strange	is	corner	eye	your
				eye	your	strange is/

P		P	TP
āistā	bānizin	ba čangawāš ⁴⁵	bumojin/
slowly	(you go [plural])	on hands	her
		(you put [plural])	/

P P P MP I P
 har â⁴⁶ ke turā bisika najalat aĵaba/
 each piece/person that you sees (if) not burn strange/

TP MP P TP
 čaŋgāwi⁴⁷ biārsonem ba čaŋgawāš⁴⁸ bumojin/
 henna [you (plural)] bring on hands her [you (plural)] put/

MP P MP MP P I
 munĵišk ba mafas mafas miāne ĵalīdani/
 bird on/in cage cage within burns/

MP P MP MP MP
 biārsin ke bānizim dēle⁴⁹ māġis-e⁵⁰ mārūs/
 come (plural) that we may go house of mother of bride/

P P TP
 māġis⁵¹ iša namoĵui ke šaukida benāran/
 mother her do not allow (plural)that sorrowing to do/

P
 delxāčiša⁵² bumojin ke bānizuna/
 daughter her allow (plural) that may leave/

TP P
 mānizi mānizi šaukida xudikit nenār/
 you go you go (singular) sorrowing yourself do not do/

TP P I
 šaukida nenār ke dāx⁵³ tāme⁵⁴ bānizi/
 sorrowing do not do that good place you may go (singular)/

TP P P A MP MP
 šauka biārsin ke im layr⁵⁵ moy⁵⁶ āna/
 people in sorrow come (imperative) that this night wedding is/

A P MP
 layr-e⁵⁷ dāx-e⁵⁸ ke kaldā-e⁵⁹ ēbil⁶⁰ āna/
 night of good of that boy of big is/

TP TP P TP P
 nūrit⁶¹ natabar ke nūrit⁶² nadāx⁶³ mejāya/
 eye your do not wink that eye your bad may become (imperative)/

P MP TP TP
 bībī mārūs nūrit⁶⁴ natabar/
 lady bride eye your do not wink (imperative)/

The above text contains 39 distinct words. 12 (30.7%) of these have been marked “P”, as they appear to be standard or dialectal Persian. If we accept the above preliminary classification, the remaining 27 words can be broken down as follows: 9 phonemically manipulated Persian (MP), 4 semantically transformed Persian (TP), 2 Indic (I), 1 Arabic (A), and 10 unmarked. In other words, 25.6% of the words are of unknown origin and may be considered to represent the originality of the Ġorbat lexicon. To comment further on these would at this stage be to speculate.

Analyzed in a similar fashion, Text 2—which consists of 56 distinct words (if the proper name Rustam is ignored)—contains 29 (51.7%) Persian words and 17 (30.3%) words of unknown origin. The rest of the break-down is 5 MP, 3 Indic, 1 TP, and 1 Arabic.

Text 2
(Part of a longer narrative)

P P P P I
 Rustam yek waqt meārsidak⁶⁵ ba yek tām⁶⁶ /
 Rustam one time came at one place/

P P
 mānizidak bare kei kāluta mānizidak/
 (he) went in order to battle (he) went/

P P P P
 dar yek hisei jāngal warsidak⁶⁷ /
 in one part of forest (he) came/

P P
 sikidak ke du āt⁶⁸ čumāri⁶⁹ kāluta menoštak⁷⁰ /
 (he) saw that two pieces cock battle were making/

P P I I P
 sikidak ke du â⁷¹ čumâri⁷² lui⁷³ lui⁷⁴ pur jāwidān/
 (he) saw that two pieces cock blood blood full have become/

P P P P TP
 har duwa čumâri⁷⁵ har du nūrā⁷⁶ bailār jāīdai/
 each the two cock each two eyes blind has become/

P P P MP MP
 šikāf šikāf yek â⁷⁷ dige xudika ināštān⁷⁸ /
 hole hole one piece the other of oneself have made/

P P
 Rustam kâlutei čumâriyārā⁷⁹ sikid au ānizi ba kâluta/
 Rustam battle of cocks (he) saw and went at battle/

P P P P P P P
 bâd azu ke ba kâluta warsidak⁸⁰ ba dušman-e xud/
 after this that at battle (he) came at enemy of self/

P
 warsidak au kâluta ināštak⁸¹ /
 (he) came and battle (he) made/

P P MP P
 Rustam ke kâluta menāštak⁸² ke kalūriš⁸³ zorčak warsi⁸⁴ /
 Rustam that battle was making that his head little strength came/

P P I P I
 Rustam pāgum-e xudika da pailidān⁸⁵ maḡīdak au pailidak/
 Rustam foot of self in to run away put and (he) ran away/

P P P
 Rustam pas ba jāṅg warsidak/
 Rustam return at war (he) came/

P P P
 sikidak ke hami du â⁸⁶ čumâri⁸⁷ hanozam kâluta menoran/
 (he) saw that the same two pieces cock still battle were making/

P P P TP
siki ke har du ât⁸⁸ čumâri⁸⁹ nūrâšnâ⁹⁰ bailâr jaidai/
(he) saw that each two pieces cock their eyes blind (they) had made/

P P P P P P
au yağ ât⁹¹ dig ât⁹² xudika ba parzolâwe xudik
and each piece other piece self at claws of self

P P
šikâf šikâf inaweštân⁹³ /
hole hole (they) have made/

P P P P P P P
sikida ke har du čumâri⁹⁴ az u waqt ke muri
(he) saw that each two cock from that time that I

P P P P P P P MP
mânizidum ke i duwa čumâri⁹⁵ ke tā hâli râ iryâ
was going that these two cock that till now they

kâluta menâran⁹⁶ /
battle are making/

P P P MP I
au muri bari ke čiri pailidum/
and I for that why (I) ran away/

P
au nāyek/
and no/

MP P P A P P
muri paštum mânizum ke yâ namaitum⁹⁷ yâ natabarum⁹⁸ /
I back (I) am going that either (I) am not dying or (I) do not strike/

MP
paštum nameârsum⁹⁹ /
back (I) do not come/

Ĵalāli, Pikrāj, Šādibāz, Vanġāwālā

Of all the so-called Ĵat groups in Afghanistan, only these four shared an historical background and a language. Members of all four communities claimed that their ancestors had come to Afghanistan some 150 years earlier from Dera Ismael Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan, now in Pakistan. At the time of my research the Ĵalāli lived and migrated exclusively in north-eastern Afghanistan; most Pikrāj lived throughout the year to the north of the Hendukush mountains, between Maymana and Qondozi. In 1976 there still were some Pikrāj families in Herat, but none of the younger generation here spoke the original mother tongue. The Šādibāz were to be found primarily in the eastern parts of the country, and the Vanġāwālā lived predominantly to the south of the Hendukush mountains and to the east of the Helmand Valley. Till the late 1960s several Vanġāwālā families spent the winter in Pakistan, in and near the town of Peshawar, and even at the time of research some families crossed over to Pakistan in late autumn, via the Bannu pass.

Table I indicates that all these four communities refer to their mother tongue as *Inku*. Informants from all four groups agreed that the language spoken by members of each of these groups was basically the same, but added that there were slight differences in pronunciation, intonation and at times, even vocabulary. A certain number of stories, conversations, incantations, etc. were recorded among the Šādibāz and the Vanġāwālā, and word lists were obtained from them as well as from the Pikrāj. No linguistic data were obtained from the Ĵalāli. All the data collected have not yet been analyzed and hence no conclusive statement can be made on the precise characteristics of the *Inku* spoken in these communities.

It is however clear that any discussion of this language must take into account studies carried out on languages spoken by non-peripatetics in Central Pakistan and the North West Frontier Province (cf. Shackle 1976, 1977, 1980) and on "Hindko," "Jataki," and "Siraiki" in general (e.g. Burton 1849). A comparison with languages spoken by some of the "Gypsy-like" communities in Iran (e.g. Patkanoff 1909:257-259; Windfuhr 1970) may also yield interesting results; however, as Turner has shown in a short note (1978), not all peripatetic groups in the region speak languages which can be meaningfully compared with Romani. In fact the closer to the Indic language area such a group lives, the greater the difficulty in meaningfully assessing its linguistic similarity to Romani, as distinct from other local languages. Another direction for comparative investigation could well be provided by some of the argots and obscure languages (e.g. "Parya": Payne 1987) spoken by low-status minorities in Central Asia.

The following texts (3 and 4) were recorded by me in 1977 and 1978. Text 3 is taken from part of a conversation which took place in Kabul in 1977 between two adult Vanġāwālā men, one of the *Baloč-xēl* and the other of the *Čenār-xēl*

subgroup. Text 4, which is part of a longer narrative, is an account of the history of the Vangāwālā, as narrated to me in 1978 near Jalalabad by a man of the Čenār-xēl subgroup. Both texts appear to be a mixture of Multani, Sindhi, Siraiki, and Panjabi as spoken in the Mianwali District of Pakistan. Since the Vangāwālā are peripatetic, their language contains elements from several languages spoken in the areas they pass through.

Text 3¹⁰⁰

ačha asā kal gañyeñ Šakardare¹⁰¹
O.K. we yesterday went Shakkardara

ik bimār da pučhne kite/
one sick person of ask in order to/

tā čār baĵe uthā asā roṭi khādi/
then four o'clock there we bread (food) ate/

pičheñ vālgāñ¹⁰² ne āi/ fir āeñ ghar/
after (then) Volga ? came/ then (we) came home (house)/

ghar āeñ phir ta ke kulu pučhye na/
home (house) (we) came then then anyone from asked not/

hā ĵi kithēñ āñweñ te kithēñ na āñweñ/
yes sir where (we) came and where not (we) came/

kal tu kithuñ āñweñ/
yesterday you from where came/

kal meñ ghar de vič āmeñ āie/
yesterday I home (house) of in from here came/

uthuñ memān beṭheān/
there guests were sitting/

e gi Gul Qand¹⁰³ kithey/
they said Gul Qand (is) where/

āwañ Gul Qand¹⁰⁴ Šakardare¹⁰⁵ gayeñ/
 ? Gul Qand Shakkardara has gone/

me kiya saār jaāndeō tus(i) ānde neyo/
 I said city? (morning? going?) let go you coming not are/

meñ is ba kua ke aǵ no baǵe asā
 I this (person) to said that today nine o'clock we

tiḳṭāñ kaṭāo te āsuñ/ aj Gul Qand¹⁰⁶ āyā/
 tickets cut (buy) and (we shall) come/ today Gul Qand came/

meñ Gul Qand¹⁰⁷ kuāsi/ tu āwn ja/ ut tā savel si/
 I Gul Qand had said/ you there go/ by? then quickly was/

tu ji digar ko ān ithaiñ Šakardare¹⁰⁸ koloñ tu tukuñ
 you when(as) afternoon to(in) came here Shakkardara from you?

kya kaj rhañ āyai aǵ uñja¹⁰⁹ phaǵe kay no baǵe than/
 what ? wife (woman) ? today there(?) ? why(?) nine o'clock ?/

ačha Wazir¹¹⁰ di gal āyi te šāzāde¹¹¹ pičče
 O.K. Wazir of talk came and shazade afterwards (behind)

azār Wazir¹¹² ke(y) khwaza¹¹³ latun (lagun) sākunei laboyā si/ na/
 ? Wazir said wife ? ? found was/ no/

Wazir¹¹⁴ kunā dīg āyisun mehmān/ ta dīg iñ su suñ/
 Wazir said well you come guest(s)/ then well are ? ?/

kal kā kākā¹¹⁵ Šakardare¹¹⁶ rey giñ/
 yesterday what kaka Shakkardara remain went/

ačha mōyā fārsi¹¹⁷ bugoyim/
 O.K. we Farsi should speak/

Text 4

asonā dyāna/ asāñ ta bewatan te bezamīñ bejedad eñ/
listen(?) attention/ we then countryless and landless propertyless are/

as sāre dāde is vatan kono āeñ Balučistān koloñ/
our ancestors this country to came Baluchistan from/

as sāre dāde Balučistān koloñ āeñ
our ancestors Baluchistan from came

te is vatan vič asāñ taqriban sō dīd sō varā thi gaiñ/
and this country in we about 100 150 years has (have) become/

sō dīd sō varā thi gayā asā bejedād bezamīñ vadiyeñ/
100 150 years has (have) become we propertyless landless are in trouble/

darbadar khāk ba sar vadiyeñ
(as) beggar(s) (in) poverty are in trouble

kujnā lade sa Afgānistān āñyañ/ asoñ xudā konu te
nothing we got we Afghanistan we came/ we God from and

Mohammad Da'ud¹¹⁸ konu sarvis konu mangdeāñ je sāb ketein
Mohammad Da'ud from king from we ask that Sir I ask (say)

ek panj jarīb¹¹⁹ jami ghar dittāsi jaiy thiwanjuñ je sāre
one five jarib land house had given happy become that our

garībi ko raṭhuñ/
profession to learn (practice)/

Conclusion

The four languages used by peripatetics in Afghanistan and not otherwise generally spoken in the country clearly fall into two distinct groups. Inku is of Indian origin and is very close to languages spoken in parts of Pakistan by several million non-peripatetic populations. In Afghanistan, however, most sedentists do not understand Inku. The three other languages discussed, namely those of the Šayx

Mohammadi, the Jōgī and the Gōrbat, appear to be artificial languages with a substratum of Persian. All four languages are largely unintelligible to the vast majority of non-peripatetics in Afghanistan. They thus act as markers and the purpose achieved in all four cases is that of a "secret language." The use of a language which is entirely intelligible only to group members, and at best only partially intelligible to non-members, is a common phenomenon among peripatetics everywhere. Even within the same country peripatetic groups originating from one linguistic area may live and migrate in other linguistic regions. Many researchers have noted this for South Asia (Berland 1982:62-63; Childers 1975:247; Hayden 1987; Kurian and Bhanu 1980; Ryan 1953:142), and as early as 1923 Martin Block suggested (1991:127) that this bilingualism or multilingualism may be typical for communities—such as "Gypsies"—who have to adapt to local populations on whom they depend politically, though often entertaining economically symbiotic relations with them. When the language of the peripatetic community is basically the same as the lingua franca of the area, and hence intelligible to their patrons and/or customers, peripatetics tend to use a different lingo among themselves, especially in the presence of non-group members. This "own language"—whether "real" or "artificial"—stresses social cohesion and ethnic identity. It has long been established that

...inter-ethnic or inter-societal relationships have linguistic correlates and... therefore, that certain features of linguistic behavior may serve as an index of the status of these relationships (Wolff 1967:18).

The languages very briefly discussed in this paper exemplify the situation of peripatetics in a context in which social marginality and economic dependency on non-peripatetics had to be manipulated daily in order to subsist and optimize social and economic benefits.

Notes

¹ For brief accounts of these and related answers see Rao 1982:28-29; 1986a:table I; 1988.

² Cf. Miklosich 1873:59(240).

³ Cf. Leitner 1882:v; Troitskaya 1948:256, 264; Pstrusinska 1986:137.

⁴ Eventually cf. Pers. *dukān* = shop.

⁵ Cf. Arab. *lahm* = meat; cf. also Ivanow 1927:244; Troitskaya 1948:258, 271.

⁶ Although etymologically improbable, cf. Arab./Pers. *rašīd* = brave.

⁷ Cf. Leitner 1882; Kenrick 1975-1976:29; Jasiewicz 1979; Nazarov 1982-1983:4, 8, 9; Pstrusinska 1986.

⁸ Cf. Leitner 1882:v; Gobineau 1857; Goeje 1903:38; Patkanoff 1909; Ivanow 1914, 1920, 1922; Troitskaya 1948:256, 258; Oranskij 1983:123; Friedman and Dankoff 1991:7. This word was also encountered among the Ġorbat (delxáč).

⁹ Cf. Leitner 1882:v; Patkanoff 1909; Littmann 1920:66 (dābba); Oranskij 1983:171. This word was also encountered in a modified form among the Ġorbat (dāba); also cf. Arab. dābba = terrestrial animal (Ambros 1990:294 ff.).

¹⁰ Cf. Oranskij 1983:124.

¹¹ Cf. Pers. gīyā(h) = herbage, grass.

¹² Cf. Oranskij 1983:132. Among the Ġorbat a similar word was encountered (māgis); cf. also Sykes 1906; Ivanow 1914, 1922; Arnold 1967:111; Digard 1978.

¹³ Also noted among the Ġorbat.

¹⁴ Cf. Gobineau 1857; Goeje 1903:38; Sykes 1906; Patkanoff 1909; Ivanow 1914, 1922; Littmann 1920:106; Wirth 1927; Troitskaya 1948:256, 258, 270; Amanolahi and Norbeck 1975:3; Kenrick 1975-1976:27; Oranskij 1983:133. A similar word was noted among the Ġorbat (nūr); cf. Arab./Pers. nūr = light.

¹⁵ Cf. Arab. ħuġra = room, cell, chamber.

¹⁶ Cf. Oranskij 1983:134.

¹⁷ Cf. perhaps Arabic spoken in North Afghanistan; qars (Kieffer and Kieffer 1985:212).

¹⁸ Cf. Patkanoff 1909:255; Troitskaya 1948:267, 173; Oranskij 1983:135.

¹⁹ Cf. Troitskaya 1948:268; Oranskij 1983:135.

²⁰ Cf. Pers. sāya = shadow + suffix wān.

²¹ Cf. perhaps Arab./Hebr. yad = hand and further Troitskaya 1948:257, 264, 274; Oranskij 1983:138. Leitner (1882:vi) gives yadāk as meaning "five" in the "Magaddi of Khurassan".

²² Cf. Troitskaya 1948:274; Oranskij 1983:139.

²³ Cf. Ivanow 1920; Oranskij 1983:171.

²⁴ Cf. Wirth 1927.

²⁵ Cf. Ivanow 1920; Wirth 1927; Digard 1978.

²⁶ See note 14.

²⁷ tāy = non-Ġorbat sedentist.

²⁸ Cf. Leitner 1882:vi; Sykes 1906; Patkanoff 1909; Ivanow 1914, 1920, 1922; Amanolahi and Norbeck 1975:3.

²⁹ Cf. Harriott 1830:529; Gobineau 1857; Sykes 1906; Ivanow 1914, 1920; Amanolahi 1978; Canova 1981:4.

³⁰ Cf. Arabic leyl = evening, night. Cf. also Sykes 1902a, 1902b; Littman 1920:102; Amanolahi and Norbeck 1975:3.

³¹ Cf. Ivanow 1914.

³² Cf. Pott 1846:176; Sykes 1906; Macalister 1914:147 (No. 176); Ivanow 1914, 1920; Wirth 1927; Oranskij 1983:171; Benninghaus 1991:56.

³³ Cf. Pott 1846:176; Seetzen 1854:184; Newbold 1856:305; Gobineau 1857; Sykes 1902a, 1906; Goeje 1903:43; Patkanoff 1909; Arnold 1967:111 (mano); Amanolahi and Norbeck 1975:3; Friedman and Dankoff 1991:7 (manruw/manro).

³⁴ < yaxâlidân. Cf. Goeje 1903:38 and also Ivanow 1914. The former suggests that the verb akhaliden could be derived from the Arab. akal.

³⁵ See note 33.

³⁶ See note 34.

³⁷ Cf. Leitner 1882; Oranskij 1983:131, 173.

³⁸ Cf. Pers. warzîdan = to endeavor. Also cf. Patkanoff 1909; Ivanow 1914, 1920; Amanolahi 1978:284, 285; Oranskij 1983:138, 175.

³⁹ < yag + ât. For ât cf. Gobineau 1857; Sykes 1902a; Ivanow 1920; Wirth 1927. Cf. Leitner (1882:vii) for ekâtt = one.

⁴⁰ < kalûr = head: for kalûr cf. Ivanow 1914; Oranskij 1983:173, and Pers. kalla = head.

⁴¹ Cf. Leitner 1882:v (peli = silver) and Ivanow 1914. Cf. also Pers. pûl = money and pela = small wares hawked by peddlers; also cf. Turk para = money.

⁴² < çangaw = hand, forearm. Pers. çang = hand, claw. Cf. also Ivanow 1920; Sampson (1928:83) gives "chang" among the peripatetic Ghagar of Egypt as meaning "hand".

⁴³ See note 14.

⁴⁴ See note 14.

⁴⁵ See note 42.

⁴⁶ See note 39.

⁴⁷ See note 42.

⁴⁸ See note 42.

⁴⁹ dēlā = tent, house. Cf. Sykes 1902b; Patkanoff 1909; Kenrick 1975-1976:28; Digard 1978; Oranskij 1983:124, 172. Cf. also Urdu (dialectal) dil = site of an old village.

⁵⁰ See note 12.

⁵¹ See note 12.

⁵² See note 8.

⁵³ See note 28.

⁵⁴ Cf. Hindi thān = place.

⁵⁵ See note 30.

⁵⁶ Cf. Pers. tōy = (wedding) feast.

⁵⁷ See note 30.

⁵⁸ See note 29.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ivanow 1914; Oranskij 1983:172.

⁶⁰ Cf. Ivanow 1914.

⁶¹ See note 14.

⁶² See note 14.

⁶³ See note 28.

⁶⁴ See note 14.

⁶⁵ See note 38.

⁶⁶ See note 54.

⁶⁷ See note 38.

⁶⁸ See note 39.

⁶⁹ See note 32.

⁷⁰ Cf. Sykes 1902:347.

⁷¹ See note 39.

⁷² See note 32.

⁷³ Cf. Sykes 1902:346, 348.

⁷⁴ See note 73.

⁷⁵ See note 32.

⁷⁶ See note 14.

⁷⁷ See note 39.

⁷⁸ See note 70.

⁷⁹ See note 32.

⁸⁰ See note 38.

⁸¹ See note 70.

⁸² See note 70.

⁸³ See note 40.

⁸⁴ See note 38.

⁸⁵ Cf. Sykes 1902:347.

⁸⁶ See note 39.

⁸⁷ See note 32.

⁸⁸ See note 39.

⁸⁹ See note 32.

⁹⁰ See note 14.

⁹¹ See note 39.

⁹² See note 39.

⁹³ See note 70.

⁹⁴ See note 32.

⁹⁵ See note 32.

⁹⁶ See note 70.

⁹⁷ < verb maitidan = to die. Cf. Arab./Pers. maut = death, and Sykes 1902:347; Ivanow 1914:452, 1922:381; Wirth 1927:92.

⁹⁸ < verb tabardan = to beat. Cf. Arab./Pers. tabar = an axe and Sykes 1902:347.

⁹⁹ See notes 38, 85.

¹⁰⁰ Ms. Safia Yussuf helped me transcribe parts of this text. I am also grateful to Professor C. Shackle for reading it and making a few corrections.

¹⁰¹ The town of Shakkardara in Parwan province.

¹⁰² A Russian made automobile. At the time of research most taxis in the country were of this make.

¹⁰³ Name of a Vangāwālā man.

¹⁰⁴ See note 103.

¹⁰⁵ See note 101.

¹⁰⁶ See note 103.

¹⁰⁷ See note 103.

¹⁰⁸ See note 101.

¹⁰⁹ Probably Persian (anja = there).

¹¹⁰ Name of a Vangāwālā man.

¹¹¹ Litt. "prince"; here, probably either the name of a man or "the bridegroom".

¹¹² See note 110.

¹¹³ < Eastern Pašto for "wife."

¹¹⁴ See note 110.

¹¹⁵ Litt. "paternal uncle"; also used as a term of respect for men in general.

¹¹⁶ See note 101.

¹¹⁷ The last two words of this sentence are in Dari and are addressed to me. The initial ačhā is Indic.

¹¹⁸ The then President of the Republic of Afghanistan.

¹¹⁹ One jerīb = 1952 m² = 0.19 ha; it is the standard measure of land throughout Afghanistan.

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DISCUSSION

Romani Language Standardization

Vania de Gila-Kochanowski

Current debate on Romani language standardization, as exemplified by the writings of Marcel Cortiade, does not pay adequate attention to earlier standardization efforts. The author's plan for language standardization is summarized and Cortiade's analyzed and critiqued.

The problems of the formation of a common Romani language are tied to the in-depth knowledge of Romani on the synchronic as well as the diachronic level. To arrive at a coherent classification of the different Romani dialects I compared all these dialects with one another and with the national languages with which they were in contact (Kochanowski 1963; de Gila-Kochanowski 1994). I have taken the eastern Baltic dialect as a basis for a common Romani language. Why? Because it is close to the Greek dialect originally spoken by all the Gypsies before their dispersal into Europe. Miklosich and the great Indologists and Romani scholars like Sampson, Jules Bloch, and Pobożniak, to name but a few, recognized the Greek dialect described by Paspatis as closest to the mother language among the available descriptions of Romani.

The Gypsies of northeastern Europe, and especially those of the eastern Baltic countries, were the first to leave Greek-speaking territory, and do not have the Romanian, Hungarian, and West Slavic loan words found in the Vlach Romani dialects.¹ The Balto-Slavic dialect evolved in isolation and in a very favorable environment.

Thus, on the phonological level, we have the preservation of dental and velar stops before front vowels: *tiro, tiri*, 'yours' (Hindi *terā, terī*); *dives*, 'day'; *kin*, 'buy';

Linguist Vania de Gila-Kochanowski (Jan Kochanowski) is president of the organization Romano Yekhipé. Mailing address: 16 rue du Bois Marquis, 91740 Congerville, France.

kiral, 'cheese'; *giv*, 'wheat'; *gili*, 'song'. On the other hand, in Vlach dialect: *éiro*, *éiri* and *éio*, *éi*; *j'es*; *éin*; *éiral*; *j'iv*; *j'ili*. All these dentals and dorsals are palatalized.

Another reason for the choice of the eastern Baltic dialect as the descriptive basis for Romani is the following. It is the only dialect which presents all the morphological oppositions, those between the optative and the subjunctive; between the transitive, intransitive, and transitional verbs; between the aorist and the perfect; between the present and the future; between the gerund and the absolutive; and between the infinitive and the optative.

The study of Romani dialects permits the following classification: 1) Those dialects which have preserved the Romani morphology and phonology; 2) Those which have lost or transformed their morphology and their phonology in contact with their national languages, but which have preserved a part of the Indo-Aryan vocabulary, for example the *caló* of Spain, Portugal, and South America; the dialects of the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway, and Finland), and Anglo-Romani in England and North America.

Phonological classification shows that the Gypsies, or Romané Chavé, have preserved their Indo-Aryan heritage while enriching it with the palatal and palatalized consonant series. We may make a scientific classification of the Romani dialects based on phonological traits, the quality of the dorsal and dental occlusives and the quality of the fricative occlusives (Table 1).

Table 1 shows that all the dialects have sibilant spirants and fricatives *s*, *z*, *š*, and *ž* (unvoiced and unpalatalized) and that it is the voiced or palatal fricative spirants, the fricative occlusives, and the palatal or palatalized occlusives which differentiate the Romani dialects. In other words, the quality of palatalization is an important feature in the differentiation of Romani dialects.

By replacing all the palatal and palatalized occlusives by *t'* and *d'* and all the fricative occlusives by *c* and *j*, we will have the following table in which these graphemes will have different values according to the dialect given.

<i>t'</i> <i>d'</i>	=	palatalized dentals in Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, and Kelderari dialects
<i>t'</i> <i>d'</i>	=	dental palatals in Greek, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Lovari dialects
<i>t'</i> <i>d'</i>	=	palatalized sibilants in eastern Baltic, Lithuanian, and Belarusian dialects
<i>c</i> <i>j</i>	=	palatal fricatives in Russian
<i>j</i>	=	palatal fricative in Polish
<i>c</i>	=	voiced fricative in eastern Baltic, western Baltic, German, Kelderari, Lovari, Greek, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Polish

Table 1
Classification of European Romani Dialects by Quality of Palatalization

Romani Dialects	Phonemes Common to All Dialects									
	t'	d'	t, k, kh + i or e Vlach dialects	č	ž	ch	s z + i loans	s	z	ž
Greek, Hungarian, Czechoslovak	ʃ	ɖ		č	ž			s	z	ž
Ukrainian	t'	d'	t', t'h d'	č	ž			s	z	ž
Romanian	t'	d'		č	ž			s	z	ž
Polish	ć	ʒ		č	ž		ś	s	z	ž
Serbocroatian	ć	ʒ	ć, čh z	č	ž			s	z	ž
Russian	t'	d'		č	ž		s' z'	s	z	ž
Eastern Baltic	c'	ʒ'		č	ž		s' z'	s	z	ž
Western Baltic, German, Finnish				č	ž			s	z	ž
Kelderari*	t'	d'	ć, čh ž	č	ž		ś	s	z	ž
Lovari*	ʃ	ɖ		č	ž		ś	s	z	ž

* In contact with Ukrainian, Serbocroatian, and Hungarian, Romanian Gypsy has given rise to two sub-dialects: Kelderari and Lovari.

Table 2
Standardization of Romani language transcription. Value of the graphemes according to the Romani dialects.

		Bilabials	Labio-dentals	Apicals	Dentals	Palatals	Dorsals	
Non-palatalized series	Voiceless	p		t	ts	c	k	Occlusives
	Voiced	b		d	dz	j	g	
	Voiceless		f		s	sh	x	Spirants or Continuants or Fricatives
	Voiced		v		z	zh	h	
		m		n				Nasals
				l				Laterals
Palatalized series and palatals				r			ɹ	Trills
	Voiceless	p'		t'		č		Occlusives
	Voiced	b'		d'				
	Voiceless		f	y	s'	š		Spirants or Continuants or Fricatives
	Voiced		v'		z'	ž		
		m'		n'				Nasals
				ɹ'				Laterals
				ɹ'				Trills

Only after the complete inventory of the phonemes and their classification, visualized by the appropriate graphemes, may we unarbitrarily simplify the transcription of the Romani language without losing precision in doing so (Table 2).

On the lexical plane we find *grosso modo* the basic words in all the Gypsy dialects, even the most “de-Romanized,” such as the Iberian dialects. A Romano Chavo speaking his own dialect well may communicate with other Romané Chavé all over the world, but modern and technical loan words from the contact languages present a barrier to intercontinental communication for the Romani intelligentsia. What in fact is a Gypsy dialect on the lexical plane? It is the basic vocabulary of Indo-Aryan origin, plus the relevant vocabulary of the language of the country where it is spoken. Thus a loan in Romani will vary according to the national European languages. This is what I call “the mobile loan.” In common Romani, the mobile loans of the current language will be replaced by a) the Sanskrit words which have already replaced Arabic and Iranian words in Hindi; and b) international words, that is, those common to the Romance languages and English.

In both cases these Sanskrit and/or international words will be adapted to the canon of the Romani word.

The formation of common Romani thus calls for two operations, the sanskritization of terms from the current language, and the formation of modern and technical terms. In my *Parlons Tsigane* (1994) current Romani words are completed by Indo-Aryan words in the Hindi-Romani-French and French-Romani lexicon (pp. 186-264) and illustrated by bilingual texts—conversations, prayers, sociopolitical texts (pp. 159-177).

My project on the internationalization of Romani, submitted to UNESCO in 1983 and 1987, has received the support of many national delegations, the Latin Union and the Organization of African Unity. This project proposes the formation of the international vocabulary, that is the whole of modern and technical terms common to the Romance languages and English, which will be included in common Romani. Starting from and within this internationalized Romani specialized dictionaries in all the fields of human sciences—linguistics, ethnology, sociology, law, etc.—will be written. Following that these Romani-French and French-Romani dictionaries will be translated into other languages.

During the symposium on Romani language and culture which took place in Sarajevo in 1986 I analyzed the problems of common Romani (Kochanowski 1989). None of the participants in the debates raised the least objection to my propositions. It was only after the symposium and later that Marcel Cortiade proposed his solutions for the standardization of Romani.

Let us now analyze three documents circulated by Marcel Cortiade on Romani standardization: 1) “La langue romani (tsigane): Evolution, standardisation, unification, réforme” (Cortiade 1989); 2) “Les latérales en romanes,” an article

distributed during the Warsaw Congress, 8-12 April 1990; and 3) Conclusions of the linguistic colloquium on the Gypsy language which met in Warsaw, 4-8 April 1990 (Balić 1990, 1992).

Cortiade writes (1989: 90), "Thus the question of [Romani] language reform appeared as an urgent question at the beginning of the 1970s." However, the question of common Romani has always arisen and continues to arise each time Romané Chavé speaking different dialects meet.

I should point out my contributions on the internationalization of Romani over the years, in which my propositions for standardization and transcription have always been approved unanimously by the various international congresses and symposia interested in this problem and have never been contested on the scientific level.²

Cortiade claims that "The Romani language...is related to the Indian languages, but at present the absence of sufficiently rigorous research makes it impossible to indicate its relationship more precisely" (Cortiade 1990: 1). My own research has permitted me to solve the so-called "Gypsy puzzles," all summarized in my 1984 doctoral dissertation of which Cortiade is aware.

At the First Gypsy Congress of the European Union held at Seville 18-21 May 1994, Cortiade proposed that "the standardization of Romani will be accomplished through the convergence of the Gypsy dialects." However, with some exceptions, words lacking in one Gypsy dialect are also lacking in the others. And whence will come the modern and technical terms lacking in Romani?

One example among a thousand: The Manush and the Gitans have lived for several centuries in France. The Manush and Gitan languages have not converged for the simple reason that their lingua franca is French. Thus, to communicate on the scientific and diplomatic level the Gypsies of the various groups (Sinti, Manush, Kalé, Roma, Rom) would have to know—according to Cortiade's theories—all the national European languages, or at least those of the main European linguistic groups, which, despite their multilingualism, is unthinkable.

Thus, the only rational standardization is to replace the common words lacking in Romani by Indo-Aryan vocabulary, and the modern and scientific words by the international vocabulary, that is, the words common in English and in the Romance languages.

At the Linguistic Colloquium on the Gypsy Language held in Warsaw 4-8 April 1990, Cortiade distributed an peculiar codification of the transcription of Romani. Transcription requires the same profound study of pan-Romani phonology as of vocabulary and morphology. But on what principles has Cortiade based his system of transcription? Without going into detail, let us consider his graphic invention, *sh* represented by *ś* (*Varśava*). We know that the *ch* of common Romani

becomes Kalderari and Lovari *š*: *chavo* > *šavo*, *chay* > *šey*, and that the *j* of common Romani becomes *ž*: *ja* > *ža*. But all the primary dialects of Romani have preserved intact the palatal *sh*: *shero*, *shun*, *shov* (Kochanowski 1960: Vol. 1, pp. 117-118). Thus, if one had to transcribe the Polish word *Warszawa*, it would be by *Varshava*, as in common Romani, or *Varšava*, as in Serbo-Croatian or Lithuanian.

Yet another example: Why write *tuge* instead of *tuke* 'to you'? Where does this aberration come from? Probably it refers to the voicing of dental and dorsal occlusives in the Romani words. Thus, the enclitic morphemes *-te* and *-ke*: *dadeste* 'at the father's', *dadeske* 'for the father, to the father'. The plural would be *dadende* and *dadenge*, that is, that the *t* and the *k* would be voiced after the *n*; in other words, the *n* voices the following dental and dorsal occlusives. This is a regular morphophonemic alternation; consequently one could leave *dadente*, *dadenke*, knowing that the transition from the *-te* and the *-ke* automatically would be pronounced *-de* and *-ge* after *n*. But this "codification" forbids us to transfer voicing in foreign words: *banko* 'bank', *kontinentalo* 'continental', etc.; no Gypsy would say *bango* or *kontinendalo*. And what of the suffix *-ko* which forms the clan names in the Balto-Slavic dialect: *Zhil'onko*, *Baklashonko*, etc., which contrasts with the suffix *-ko* of the genitive adjective, the abbreviated form of *-kiro*: *dadeskiro* > *dadesko* 'belonging to the father', plural *dadengiro* > *dadengo*. You see the difference between these two suffixes; the first is used only in the singular: *Zhil'onko* 'of Gila, belonging to the Gila clan'. On the other hand, the second is declined in the singular as well as the plural (see Kochanowski 1960, Vol. 2:xii).

The main conclusions of the Warsaw linguistic colloquium were published in *Études Tsiganes* (1990) and *Interface* (1992). I will now critique them point by point. The English version below is that published in *Interface*.

Point 4. "In the standard language, there are 5 (five) vowels: *a e i o u*; some of them are in lexical variations but this phenomenon does not pertain to phonetics or phonemics."

False: By transposing the "lexical variants" of the Romani vowels—long or short—as variations of pronunciation, one is saying that vocalic quality is not pertinent in Romani phonology, but it does exist and it is *phonetic*.

Point 5. "In the standard language there are no centralized vowels; such may be encountered only in texts with a dialectal character."

Yes, the central vowel *ʌ* exists, but is phonetic and not phonological, that is, it does not differentiate one morpheme from another and one lexeme from another. It appears in the morpheme of the ablative singular and plural, in the peripheral tenses, and in the modes.

Examples:

Ablative *dadest*_{AR}, *dadend*_{AR}Present *me xov*, imperfect *me xov*_{AS}Aorist *me xayom*, pluperfect *me xayom*_{AS}Optative past *texayom*_{AS} *me*Subjunctive *mexayom*_{AS} *me*Point 10. "There is only one *l* in the Romani language...."No, there are two *ls* in common Romani, a non-palatal *l* and a palatal *l*.Example: singular *rakli* 'girl', plural *rakl'* *a*.Point 11. "One distinguishes between *h* (laryngeal) and *x* (velar)."

I maintain the opposition of the voiceless spirants : voiced (*x* : *h*), both belonging to the dorsal order. As to the uvular spirants, voiceless and voiced (*χ* : *κ*), they are realizations of the uvular *ʀ* in the absolute final and in the intervocalic position (see Kochanowski 1960 v. 1: 114-118, tables art. 29.1-29.9; art. 23.4).

Examples:

ža-tar, *phak* (< *phag*) *či kor* (< *kor*)! 'Go away, break your neck!'*tu kovard'* *an* (< *korard'* *an*) *lexki yak* 'You have blinded his eye'

Point 12. "The dorsal stops *g*, *k* and *th* are spelled after the ProtoRomani system and everyone reads them according to his own dialect (palatalized or not)."

The non-Vlach Gypsies read them non-palatalized and the Vlach Gypsies, palatalized, before the front vowels *i* and *e*: *j' il' i* < *gili* 'song'; *j' er* < *ger* 'itch'; *čiral* < *kiral* 'cheese'; *čer* < *kher* 'house'; *čhino* < *khino* 'tired'.

Point 13. "The aspirated consonants are indicated by means of the grapheme *h*: *ph*, *th* etc."

No. It is not the aspirates, but aspiration, that is indicated by *h*.

Point 15. "The principle of postpositions is retained; they indicate the sandhis I, II and III...and are characteristic for neo-Indic languages. Their first grapheme (archigrapheme) is *q*, *ç* and *θ*...."

These postpositional graphemes are presented as follows (Balić 1990):

	after -n:	in other positions:
θ	-nθ- = [-nd-] [-nø-]	[t]
ç	-nç- = [-nts-, -ndʒ-]	[s, h, j...]
q	-nq- = [-ng-, -nǵ-, -nj-, -ndʒ]	[k, k, tʃ]

Let us look at the Romani declension, using the "postpositional" graphemes proposed by Cortiade.

Central Cases			Peripheral Cases		
Singular		Plural	Singular		Plural
Nominative	dad 'father'	dadá	Dative	dadés-qe	dadén-qe
Accusative	dadés	dadén	Possessive	dadés-θe	dadén-θe
			Instrumental	dadés-sa > dadeça	dadén-ça
			Ablative	dadés-θar	dadén-θar

This example of Romani declension shows that all these “postpositional graphemes” are only the voicing of the occlusives *-k* and *-t* of the singular by the *n* preceding them in the plural, thus giving in the plural *g* and *t*. The same *n* transforms the *s* of the singular into the *ts* of the plural.

Point 16. “The spirants [sibilants, in the French-language version] are written *c, é, éh* (or *ch*), *s, ś, z, ź, and ʒ*.”

No. *c, é* and *éh* are not sibilants, but palatal occlusives.

Point 17. “The symbol *z* [dz] is rejected since it has no phonemic value.”

No. We cannot eliminate *dz* from the language since it contrasts with *ts* in the Romani consonantal system.

Point 19. “The stress is generally final (oxytonic).”

It would be far too simple to reduce the accentuation of the Romani language to the oxytone which is valid only 1) in declension, central cases (nominative and accusative), and 2) in the conjugation, in the present and in the aorist.

Examples:

Nominative singular and plural: *dad* ‘father’, *dadá* ‘fathers’

Accusative singular and plural: *dadés*, *dadén*

Present: *me ker-ón* ‘I do’; *tu ker-és* ‘you do’

Aorist: *me kerd’óm* ‘I did, I have done’; *tu kerd’án* ‘you did, you have done’

Otherwise, the accent is paroxytone. Thus:

a) In the other cases, the morphemes *-k, -te, -tar, -sa*, act as enclitics to these accusatives: *dadéske* (sing.), *dadénge* (pl.), *dadéste* (sing.), *dadénde* (pl.), etc.

b) The morphemes of the other tenses act as enclitics in the present and aorist indicatives:

Future: *me keráv-a*, *tu kerés-a*, *yov, yoy kerél-a*, etc.

Imperfect: *me kerón-as*, *tu kerés-as*, *yov, yoy kerél-as*, etc.

Pluperfect: *me kerd’óm-as*, *tu kerd’án-as*, *yov, yoy kerd’ás-as*, etc.

On the lexical level we have: Romani word *chavó* (oxytone) ‘son’, versus foreign word *bóbo* (paroxytone) ‘bean’.

It should be noted that foreign words are marked with the unaccented *-o* in the masculine and by the unaccented *-a* in the feminine and that within these loan words in *-a* accent is pertinent since it serves to distinguish one grammatical form from another: nominative *Mán'a*, accusative *Man'á*.

Conclusion

My method and that of Marcel Cortiade are completely different and finally lead to different conceptions of the standardization of Romani. I have proposed replacing the mobile loans from the national contact languages with Indo-Aryan, and the modern and technical words with the international vocabulary, grosso modo the vocabulary common to the Romance languages and English.

Cortiade, ignoring his predecessors, proposes the formation of common Romani through the convergence of Gypsy dialects, which I consider impossible.

Notes

¹ With the exception of some words borrowed from the Sinti Gypsies assimilated to Balto-Slavic Gypsies of the western Baltic countries, and from the "Mol'ovska Roma," assimilated Vlach Gypsies who immigrated into Latvia a century ago.

² Congress of orientologists, New Delhi, 1964; congress of educators, London, 1971; congress of linguists, Bonn, 1976, and Toulouse, 1979; 2nd Congress of Roma, Geneva, 1978; symposium on Romani language and culture, Sarajevo, 1986.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Flamenco Deep Song. *Timothy Mitchell.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994. 232 pp. \$28.50 (cloth). ISBN 0-300-06001-7.

Anita Volland

Flamenco Deep Song is an important new book about the compelling, emotive vocal music of southern Spain known as *flamenco*. "Deep song" here represents a literal translation of *cante jondo*, the term for a highly valued subgenre of flamenco song frequently viewed as the artistic creation of Spanish Gypsies. Few writings in English have attempted to deal with flamenco in both a comprehensive and a scholarly manner, and Mitchell's book is the first major work to make the interpretive insights of the extensive Spanish literature on the subject accessible to English readers. The author of three previous books on Spanish folklore and Andalusian popular tradition, Mitchell brings to this study a broad knowledge of Iberian culture as it is presented in written works, and an adventurous spirit in the use of models and theories from several different disciplines.

The intent of the book is not, however, to serve as an introduction to what has been written about *cante jondo*, particularly in recent years. Rather, it is to offer a comprehensive, and very pointed, new interpretation of the origins of *cante* and its significance as a cultural phenomenon. As Mitchell makes clear from the outset, his views on deep song have become defined in the context of current heated debates in progress within the world of flamencology. One of these controversies concerns the nature of *gitano* (Spanish Gypsy) ethnicity and its relationship to the origins and subsequent history of *cante jondo*. Another involves the resistance of many *cante aficionados* to stylistic changes that have entered the genre during the growth of its popularity, first in Spain, and later on in the international music world.

Mitchell's thesis is that *cante jondo* is the creation (what he calls "an aesthetic by-product" —p. 137), not of *gitanos*, but of a differently-constituted marginal subculture. He characterizes this subculture as one that, assisted by alcohol

Anita Volland, who has written on *gitano* dance, song, and language, is Professor of Anthropology at Wagner College, Staten Island, NY 10301.

consumption, used cante to achieve catharsis and a sense of redemption from personal and social trauma.

In laying out his argument, Mitchell employs a bevy of theoretical models drawn from folklore studies, ethnomusicology, sociology, anthropology, psychology and other disciplines. According to Mitchell, the enlightened scholar of deep song must distance her/himself from any detailed considerations of either the songs themselves or of native systems of classifying and interpreting them. He favors instead a careful study of the forces that determine cante's style. Turning to ethnomusicological models, such as Alan Lomax's cantometrics, he defines the study of cante style as the study of the ideologies, or cultural biases, that have operated to constrain and otherwise influence the shape of the music. He further contends that "one's understanding of musical style and its determinants will be as sophisticated or as simplistic as one's understanding of ideologies and *their* determinants" (p. 22, emphasis in original). The central project of *Flamenco Deep Song* thus becomes one of investigating the process of ideology formation at several different levels, and identifying the various currents of cultural bias that have shaped cante.

Mitchell joins many aficionados in identifying a distinctive, historically discernable flamenco way of life. This flamenco culture is male dominated, one that is focused on drinking, whoring, rowdiness and other expressions of defiance against overarching Spanish social conventions. The performance environment of cante as a form of popular expression has traditionally been the tavern and the drinking party, where the audience relives with the singer the intimate personal traumas that give voice to cante. This way of life is not coterminous with that of gitanos, though it overlaps gitano culture at some points. Its origins are to be found, according to Mitchell, in the large heterogenous underclass of Spain's early modern period, especially the 18th century. There, gitanos represented only one of a variety of ethnic groups who made their living at the margins of Spanish society. One group of special interest were the *majos*, a lower-class youth culture whose spectacular and brazen dress, speech and manners, while defiant of elite values, were admired and even emulated by the 18th- and 19th-century aristocracy. (Readers may remember that Goya painted the Duchess of Alba dressed—and undressed—as a *maja*.) Like that of punk rockers in the late 20th century, this adolescent life style embodied the typically flamenco stance of the "proud outcast," complete with the flamenco overtones of emotionality and self-absorption.

The ancestral cante was thus partially shaped, according to Mitchell, by the ideologies of a number of kinds of have-nots, including but not exclusive to, gitanos. In addition, the popularity of early flamenco music and dance among both Andalusian commoners and the elite meant that the taste of the audience affected the stylistic choices of those who performed them as a means of livelihood. Mitchell

points out how professional singers increasingly catered to the whims of rowdy young aristocrats who, through their habit of slumming, became principal patrons of cante. The leitmotif of Mitchell's treatment of this formative stage is always the association of deep song with a subculture that defined itself in relation to drinking and cathartic psychodrama, activities that functioned to manage pain but not to change the personal and social conditions that gave rise to such pain.

The elevation of cante from a popular phenomenon to an art form, and the attribution of cante jondo to exclusively gitano origin were, Mitchell says, the work of Spanish intellectuals who, fully in the grasp of the romantic ideologies of the 19th century, saw in the gitano the personification of the primitive Other, and saw cante as the supreme expression of the mysterious Gypsy soul. In the late 20th century the tendency of ethnic groups to define themselves in relation to a narrow range of cultural symbols including folk music genres, found its expression among gitanos and their promoters within flamenco circles in a similar association of cante and gitano identity. The publication of Molina and Mairena's book, *Mundo y Formas del Cante Flamenco*, which represented the collaborative effort of a well-known intellectual and a top professional gitano singer, completed the codification of cante style within a distinctly gitano-based tradition, and made gitano exponents the reigning authorities on what was or was not "true" cante jondo, and on just how true cante jondo was to be sung.

Mitchell and many international flamenco enthusiasts see the codification of cante style as a barrier to creativity within flamenco as popular music. To him the elevation of flamenco to "art" represents, among other things, a way in which Spanish elite culture has directed the current of popular tradition to suit its own cultural agenda. In the drastically-changed social atmosphere of contemporary Spain, the ideology of pain that first informed cante has become, according to Mitchell, an anachronism. Though careful not to give advice or to take sides in current sociopolitical debates on gitano ethnicity, Mitchell still foresees that a new gitano identity could coalesce around something other than "old style" cante jondo, a genre that has traditionally glorified emotions of dependence. Cante, he believes, should be set free to develop independent of any ideology in a world music market where those who pay to hear flamenco can find in it whatever suits their shifting fancies.

The preceding paragraphs do not do justice to the numerous valuable insights Mitchell provides during the unfolding of his interesting thesis, his ideas about the relationship between cante and Andalusian forms of popular Catholicism and about cante as psychodrama being among the most appealing. Neither do these paragraphs communicate the acid tone of *Flamenco Deep Song*, nor its highly charged, rather self-conscious polemic. Some readers will no doubt find Mitchell's irony and open contempt for those who do not, or may not, agree with him to be stimulating and even

entertaining. For one thing, Mitchell's debunking of some of flamenco's central myths, in essence a valuable corrective to the enthusiastic excesses of some flamenco fans, also makes for a fast-paced read. Others interested in *Flamenco Deep Song* will join the reviewer in considering these attention-getting tactics to be unnecessary, given the high quality of the work and the important new points it makes.

More disturbing than Mitchell's tireless denigration of his possible opponents in the academic and intellectual arenas, is his attitude towards flamenco "insiders." His view throughout *Flamenco Deep Song* is that those closest to cante (its performers, aficionados and knowledgeable promoters) are the ones least likely to understand it. Insiders are responsible for what Mitchell considers flamenco's unfortunate "parochialism" (pp. 6-7, 37). Their sharing in flamenco's "cultural bias," he believes, blinds them to the real nature of cante. Only an outsider, Mitchell contends, is in a position to study cante free of such cultural bias and thus to make valid general statements about it.

The reviewer shares Mitchell's concern for—and belief in—the pursuit of knowledge through at least an attempt at objectivity. However, such "objectivity" does not necessitate a stance of god-like omniscience in contrast to which people who are the creators and living vehicles of the very phenomenon under study are cast as blind fools in the grip of (to use some of Mitchell's language) fetishistic "group think" (pp. 15, 21). Indeed, a whole current scholarly perspective on performative traditions like flamenco would place such people—the informants—at the *center* of study. In his attempt to take on what he seems to see as the "flamenco establishment," Mitchell repeatedly denigrates those most responsible for both flamenco's existence and for much of the published data upon which he, as a scholar of texts rather than of personally-observed behavior, must depend.

No book should be judged as lacking because it does not say everything that could be said on the subject involved, but Mitchell's avowed aspiration to take a "perfect" approach on the insider-outsider issue begs for a response. He contends that "...a 'hermit' outsider with no ideological axe to grind would logically be in a position to reveal the whole social picture of flamenco. I doubt that I can achieve such a perfect perspective in this book, but perhaps I can justify the attempt..." (pp. 26-27). In fact, Mitchell is able to go as far as he does with his thesis because he specifically defines the study of cante jondo in terms of the study of ideologies and of that alone.

Nowhere in *Flamenco Deep Song* does Mitchell grapple with that sticky wicket, cante as music. The reader may wonder what cante jondo actually sounds like other than that stylized cathartic cry to heaven, epiphenomenon of multiple ideologies, that Mitchell presents it to be. Are the supporters of the Molina-Mairena codification of cante resistant to change in deep song only because of its in-group

association with a gitano mystique and the need to defend their positions as experts? Or is it because within certain flamenco performance traditions the expression of emotion was welded to a form so appropriate to communicating that emotion that the result was an aesthetic “phenomenon,” a master style? Cante jondo is characterized by more than just a powerful, emotive attack, but also by the finely balanced tensions between sound and silence, between an apparent freedom of melodic form and the extraordinary precision with which certain points in the melody, and often the text, must coincide with the relentless accompanying rhythm, and between the terse suggestiveness of the typical deep song verse and the elaborate melody that carries it. Are these data trivia? Or does the music of cante jondo have to be taken into account in any really comprehensive study? If so, then equally to be taken into account would be its performers and all the other “insiders” who have sought to understand not just the message of cante jondo but *how* that message is communicated.

It seems to this reviewer that the “perfect” approach to the cante—since Mitchell raises the possibility—would be one that succeeded in understanding deep song from both the outside and the inside, one that linked an ethnographic, participatory perspective won through first-hand expertise with cante and its social context, with the objectivity and broad knowledge of texts to which Mitchell’s work aspires. Cutting-edge developments in theories of observer-observed interaction, as well as new concepts designed to analyze complex societies, make the “perfect” book on cante a possibility. But creating it would be hard, which is exactly why such a book remains to be written.

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Daltestvérek: Az oláh cigány identitás és közösség továbbélése a szocialista Magyarországon. *Michael Sinclair Stewart*. Budapest: T-Twins Kiadó (Attila út 20, H-1013 Budapest, Hungary), MTA Szociológiai Intézet, and Max Weber Alapítvány, 1994. 268 pp. 396 forints (paper). ISBN 963-7977-55-4.

Csaba Prónai

Daltestvérek is the Hungarian-language published version of the author’s dissertation (Stewart 1987). The monograph was written almost two years after he

Csaba Prónai is a doctoral candidate in cultural anthropology. Mailing address: ELTE BTK Kulturális Antropológia, Piarista köz 1, 1052 Budapest, Hungary.

and his family spent 15 months (1984-85) in a Vlach Gypsy (Gypsy-speaking) community of northern Hungary (p. 31). Without this first hand experience of the culture or personal participation he could not have adequately represented the "native's point of view" and the local conditions. However this work not only attempts to define Gypsy identity, it also illustrates what this example means in anthropological thought (Williams 1991: 27).

Stewart considers Vlach Gypsy life in the town of "Harangos" (a pseudonym given by the author) as a self-regulated culture in which every aspect is related and integrated into a "cultural whole." However, this cultural whole can be understood only in comparison with "other cultures." In his analysis the researcher follows two different paths at the same time; one focuses on the internal structure of the community, the other concentrates on how this group keeps in contact with the outside world.

Summing up Stewart's questions: Who are they? Who are "the Vlach Gypsies"? How can they preserve their Gypsy identity and community in socialist Hungary? The answers divide the book into three main parts: 1. Gypsies in socialist Hungary; 2. Romanes, 'The Gypsy Way'; 3. Persisting as Rom in a world of *gažos*, non-Gypsies. The first part draws a political-historical picture, concluding that the "communist policy on 'The Gypsy Question' has failed to end the reproduction of Gypsies as a sub-class of cheap-labourers" (p. 100). The second part is an ethnographically rich presentation of Vlach Gypsy identity. Stewart's "thick description" shows that the group's specific organizational structure, its specific way of purchasing goods, as well as its common language and common songs are the sources of their identity (see also Stewart 1991: 43).

The final part considers the question, against which culture do the Vlach Gypsies compose their own world? "In Hungary," says Stewart, "we begin to understand 'cigány' (Gypsy) in opposition to 'paraszt' (peasant) and, nowadays, 'dolgozó' (worker, in a sense that includes agricultural and industrial labourers)" (p. 24). And in Hungary the Vlach Gypsy culture is mainly the counterpart of "peasant morals". The Gypsies gloss "gažo" into Hungarian as "peasant" (p. 192). It has been noted that even for those non-Gypsies who work part-time in industry, many elements of peasant ethics are important (Bell 1983: 160-4), and that "they are trying to recreate the outward trappings of a peasant life-style" (Jávor 1983: 300).

Every cultural group has formulated its ideal self image. While the peasants consider only physically hard, self-denying, careful, and efficient labor as work (Fél and Hofer 1969: 274; Bell 1984: 170), "the Gypsies represented the good life in non-agricultural, quasi-magical activities such as tinkering, scavenging and dealing in other people's goods on the market" (p. 25).

Stewart summarizes the opposed orientations leading to the two ethics in the following structure:

Peasant	Rom
Land forms person	No attachment to place
Labor	Dealing
Toil	Talk
Ardor	Cleverness
Production	Circulation
Mundane activity	Magic
Autonomy: Avoid exchange	Avoid labor
Thrift	Spendthrift
Familial accumulation	Brotherly sharing
Past weighs on living	Oblivious to past

Looking at both columns, we can see that in this interpretation, each element of the moral order is “meaningless and ‘un-reproductive’ without the other” (p. 244). From another viewpoint both worlds are parts of a larger system. They respond to one another, “both are in a sense part of the same overarching system, both are responses to the same sort of world” (p. 25).

By trying to show that “the experience of real subjugation does not destroy the culture of Rom domination of the *gažo*” (p. 250) Stewart intends to harmonize the texts of the first two parts.

In the first part of the analysis the Hungarian Gypsies are laborers who, as a social stratum, are reproduced by history. But from the second part on we can see that this formulation is a far cry from the way Gypsies view themselves. According to the author, we can use the structural-functional method to study the first aspect, which is characterized by a kind of sociological objectivism. However, the anthropological culturalism of the second part puts a greater emphasis on structures (p. 250).

Stewart has the indisputable outstanding merit of being the first in middle and eastern Europe to show that a Gypsy community can preserve “a traditional structure, a traditional culture against the progressive penetration of the modern state” as well as the peasants can (Rév 1987:344), even if the Gypsies are more defenseless. His thesis not only verifies that the internal and the external happenings of any community are equally important, that they occur simultaneously in social interaction, the study also shows the paradox formulated by Evans-Pritchard, “there is only one method” with the help of which we can see how a cultural group is living—“the comparative method—and that is impossible.” “Because nothing is comparable. Each society and each culture, like each snowflake and each fingerprint, is unique—incomparable” (Peacock 1991:76).

Stewart undertook the impossible, like all the anthropologists, who never give up their aim of demonstrating that "there are some dragons—'tigers in red weather'—that deserve to be looked into" (Geertz 1984:75).

Before Stewart's thesis there was no book about any Gypsy group of Hungary in which we could read how they think about themselves and about the world, what they love, and what they don't, why they dance, etc. However we can show the relationship of Stewart's *Daltestvérek* to two research traditions.

One is that of anthropological research on Hungarian peasants which began with three monumental works by Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer (Fél and Hofer 1969, 1972, 1974), and was followed by Hungarian, American, and English fieldwork in Hungary in the 1970s (Bodrogi 1978; Hollos and Maday 1983). The second is a series of anthropological Gypsy studies which started in 1983 with Judith Okely's *The Traveller-Gypsies*, and was followed by such monographs as *Mariage Tsigane* by Patrick Williams (1984), *Mare Roma* by Leonardo Piasere (1985) and *Tsiganes et sédentaires* by Bernard Formoso (1986).

Knowing the results of both traditions together with the results of his own fieldwork, Stewart was able to take a successful new step in Gypsy studies.

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Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946. *Denis Peschanski*. Paris: CNRS Editions (20-22 rue Saint-Amand, F-75015 Paris, France), 1994. 177 pp. FF 120 (paper). ISBN 2-271-05244-0.

Radu Ioanid

Roma and Sinti were isolated, interned, deported, and subjected to medical experiments and mass murder during the Holocaust. For various reasons the tragedy of Romani people during the Holocaust was described by historians much later and less completely than the destruction of the Jews.

The destruction of Roma and Sinti in Nazi Germany and the territories annexed by the Third Reich has been studied with notable results by historians, among whom Sybil Milton has a prominent place. Unfortunately the fate of Gypsies in the rest of Europe occupied or under the influence of Nazi Germany remains largely unknown beyond some general information. The recent opening of the East European archives permits a better understanding of this important part of the history of the Holocaust. For example new historical documents originating in archives from Romania and Ukraine allow the researcher to better comprehend the fate of about 30,000 Roma deported in 1942 to Transnistria (part of Ukraine between the Dniestr and Bug rivers under Romanian administration) by the Romanian military authorities. Only a few thousand of these Gypsies returned to Romania at the end of the war. Most were executed or died of typhus during their deportation. It is clear that one way to approach the history of the Gypsies during the Holocaust in an efficient manner is to study every European country from this angle.

This is precisely what Denis Peschanski, director of the prestigious Institut d'Histoire du Temps Present in Paris, has done in *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–*

Radu Ioanid is an historian at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW, Washington, DC 20024-2150.

1946. Peschanski contests the figure of 30,000 Gypsies interned in camps in France during World War II, advanced by Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, as being far too high. He also contests the figure of 15,000 deportees advanced by Martin Gilbert, and argues that in both cases the figures are based exclusively on an estimate published in the journal *Mouvement contre le Racisme, L'Antisemitisme et pour la Paix*. Based on various statistics and French and German documents, Peschanski estimates that there were "about 3000 Gypsies interned once or several times in France, in all zones and all periods of time, between 1940 and 1946" (p. 39).

Peschanski studies the anti-Gypsy policies of both zones of France. He emphasizes that the internment of Gypsies, especially the nomads, started under the Third Republic in 1939 and continued until 1946, when it practically disappeared. According to Peschanski both Vichy France and the German occupation favored the marginalization of the Gypsies, without targeting this population through a systematic policy of deportation and extermination. The main exception to these policies seems to be the deportation of 351 Belgian and French Roma from Malines, Belgium, to Auschwitz on January 15, 1944.

According to Peschanski the German occupation authorities played a primary role in the internment of Gypsies in France. At the same time the Vichy authorities, especially at the regional level, adapted quickly to German demands. In the meantime, at the beginning of the German occupation of France in 1940, hundreds of Gypsies from Alsace-Moselle were expelled to France. In 1942 at the request of the Germans, Gypsies were expelled from the Atlantic region, and both French and German authorities implemented concentration of these displaced Gypsies in camps. Denis Peschanski presents both the life of the Gypsies interned in various camps in France and the rules and regulations which were used to administer these camps. The life of the Gypsy children in the camps and the forced labor of the adults are also dealt with.

Peschanski considers that in terms of the internment of nomadic Gypsies, the policies of Vichy France were "without ambiguity" secondary and marginal. As to German policies in occupied France, Peschanski sees a contradiction between Himmler's anti-Gypsy policies and their implementation in France, implying that the anti-Gypsy policies were not a priority for the Third Reich in France.

Denis Peschanski's book includes interesting statistics, charts and lists of Gypsy deportees, including the very impressive list of the 351 Gypsies deported on from Belgium to Auschwitz in January 1944.

As Peschanski emphasizes it is probably still premature to try to estimate the number of Roma and Sinti victims of the Holocaust, because the scale of the Einsatzgruppen massacres of Gypsies is not yet known, and it is very likely that the highest number of Gypsy victims will originate from this category.

Parlons Tsigane: Histoire, culture et langue du peuple tsigane. *Vania de Gila-Kochanowski* (in collaboration with Huguette Tanguy). Paris: L'Harmattan (5-7 rue de l'Ecole Polytechnique, 75005 Paris, France), 1994. 264 pp. + 60 minute cassette tape. FF 140 (paper). ISBN 2-7384-2624-7.

Victor A. Friedman

The main title of this book means "Let's speak Gypsy," although, as the subtitle indicates, a better title would have been "Let's speak about Gypsies," since the first 77 pages are concerned with history (61 pp.) and culture (15 pp.) The principal author is himself a Rom and has published many important works on Romani. The section on history begins with the Indo-Europeans, i.e. the earliest possible period reconstructible for the history of Romani (as well as for English, Russian, French, Irish, and the dozens of other Indo-European languages). The author's views on this early history do not take into account recent research on these questions (e.g. Gamqrelidze and Ivanov 1984), and in any case the period considerably pre-dates the formation of the Romani people, just as it pre-dates the formation of all the linguistic and ethnic groups that ultimately developed out of Indo-European. The author's disquisition on the "ambiguity" of the term Indo-European (pp. 40-41) misses the point that this term is strictly a linguistic one. The author is of the opinion that the formation of the Romani people resulted from several successive migrations from India, that the caste(s) to which they belonged in India can be determined (he argues for Brahmin and Kshatriya), and that certain nomadic groups in India today should be counted as Romani. These are all highly controversial matters and are in any case arguably irrelevant to a description of the modern Romani language.

The brief section on culture merely hints at the richness and diversity of Romani creative life. Each subsection treats matters that have been topics of monographs and dissertations. Thus, for example, the single page devoted to the subject of dance compares flamenco to Indian dance forms such as *kathakali* and *bharathanatyam* and mentions the Romani dance forms of northeastern Europe (Hungary, Russia). The significance and differences of Romani dances in the Balkans, for example, is not even touched upon, nor are there any references to works on the subject of Romani and/or Indian dance. Throughout the entire section, the author's main concern is with stressing the cultural connection of the Romani people to India. Since the primary topic of the book is language, it could be argued that the author is justified in simply whetting the appetite of the interested reader for

Victor A. Friedman is Professor in the Department of Slavic Languages, University of Chicago, 1130 East 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637.

further knowledge. Still, a more comprehensive bibliography than the total of 54 items cited for the entire work would have been helpful in this regard.

The section on language is based on the author's native dialect, i.e. East Baltic Romani with some French influence. The author uses a Latin orthography combining conventions used for transcribing Sanskrit and Russian together with some graphic forms used in English. Thus the palatal affricates are spelled <c> and <j>, palatalization is indicated with an apostrophe, the palatal fricatives are spelled <sh> and <zh>, and the palatal glide represented with <y>. Aspiration and the glottalic glide are indicated with the letter <h>, the uvular fricative with <x>, and the letter <ɾ> is used for both trilled/tapped and uvular. Thus, for example, he writes *caco* 'true', *chavo* 'son', *shero* 'head', *phu* 'earth', *xa* 'he eats', *rat'a* 'night', *mard'om* 'I beat [aorist]', *day* 'mother', etc. The spelling of vowels is limited to five letters <a, e, i, o, u>. The author prescribes the use of <a> for reduced vowels (schwa, etc.), but <i> is also used where some dialects have, e.g., a high back unrounded vowel as in *sir* (=sar, syr) 'how'.

The substantive is treated as having five postpositional cases for animates: accusative, dative, "possessive-relative" (-te), ablative, and instrumental. According to the author, inanimates distinguish only the instrumental and ablative, the other case relations being expressed prepositionally. This is certainly not true for all Romani dialects (cf. Friedman 1991). The genitive is treated as a derived possessive adjective, the justification being that it agrees with its head (see Friedman 1991 and Grumet 1985 on this problem). The section on the substantive is followed by a note on Romani family names in France and Lithuania, outlines of the declension and use of the personal pronouns, inflection and derivation of adjectives, a sampling of prepositions, a brief presentation of ordinal and cardinal numerals, and a twenty-page discussion of the verb. Adverbs, non-personal pronouns, interjections and particles are not discussed.

A feature of the author's dialect that results from Balto-Slavic influence is the use of verbal prefixation to mark *aksionsart* and/or the aspectual opposition perfective/imperfective. Thus, for example, the author distinguishes *me xayom maro* 'I ate [some] bread' and *me s-xayom maro* 'I ate [up] the bread', which is modeled on the Russian opposition *el's'el* 'ate/ate up'. Another peculiarity of this dialect is the complete loss of definite articles—no doubt under the influence of Balto-Slavic—and the existence of this grammatical category in other dialects of Romani is not mentioned. The treatment of aspectuality (p. 125) is superficial and does not take into account the enormous literature on this topic. The description of *te* is broken into paragraphs on the "optative" and the "infinitive", this latter being a distinct grammatical and morphological category in languages such as Russian, Lithuanian, and French but not in Romani. Verbs are divided into three conjugations on the basis of the formation of the aorist, but there is no unified treatment of

irregularities. The negative marker *na*, the modal subordinator *te*, and the intransitive maker *pe* are written together with the verb, apparently under the influence of Russian and Lithuanian orthography, e.g. *tenamarenpe* 'if they do not fight'.

The description of the verb is followed by a brief (3 pp.) outline of accentuation, a phonological classification of Romani dialects based on the author's doctoral thesis of 1963, some speculations on the relation of Romani to the modern languages of India, a discussion of modern efforts at standardizing Romani, bilingual texts (18 pages, nine each of Romani and French), the bibliography, and two lexicons: one Hindi-Romani-French (pp. 191-235, about 2000 entries), the other French-Romani (pp. 237-264, about 1200 main entries but many with more than one lexical item). The first lexicon is in fact Romani-French, but in a separate left-hand column Hindi cognates are sometimes given. The author is among those who favors enriching Romani vocabulary by means of borrowing from Hindi, and so this vocabulary includes words that the author is proposing for acceptance into Romani along with those that actually occur.

The book is accompanied by a 60-minute tape that begins with an interview with the author in French concerning the nature of the concept of ethnic group, the author's etymology for the ethnonym *Rom*, the structure of Romani, questions of standardization, the author's previous research, etc. This material occupies the first five to ten minutes of the tape and is all covered in the book. The interview is followed by readings from pp. 160-167 ("a visit," "in class," and several Christian prayers) in which each sentence is read in Romani by the author and then translated into French by a woman speaker. This is followed by a French summary of the bilingual material of pp. 168-172 and a reading—sentence by sentence in Romani and French—of the author's "suggestions" for "the integration of the Gypsies into modern society" (pp. 174-177). Side A ends with another interview with the author on the material covered in the "History" section. The first 10 to 15 minutes of side B continues with material in French expressing the author's views. The tape concludes with a reading by the author of the Romani text of the story published only in French on p. 72. This is followed by a reading of the French translation. Since the Romani text is not published in the book, this section of the tape is more a test of the reader's skill than a teaching tool.

As can be seen from the foregoing comments, this work contains some interesting material. It deserves a place in the library of any scholar or experienced student of Romani.

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Bugurdži: Deskriptiver und historischer Abriß eines Romani Dialekts. *Norbert Boretzky*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz (Taunusstr. 14, Pf 2929, 65183 Wiesbaden, Germany), 1993. 203 pp. DM 70 (paper). ISBN 3-447-03380-0.

Hristo Kyuchukov

This is a book about a non-Vlax dialect spoken by a Romani group in Kosovo and Macedonia. The speakers of this dialect call themselves *Bugurdži*, but in some other Balkan countries they are known as Burgudži (from Turkish *burgu* 'drill'; *burgucu* 'drill maker'). As the subtitle indicates, *Bugurdži* gives a descriptive and historical view of the dialect. The data for the study were collected through oral interviews with adult informants. Some of the texts collected are given in an appendix.

Such descriptive grammars are known in Romani linguistics. Sampson (1926) wrote a grammar of the dialect spoken by the Gypsies of Wales, Gjerdman and Ljungberg (1963) wrote a grammar of the Swedish Kalderash dialect, and Pobožniak (1964) wrote a grammar of the Lovari dialect.

Boretzky's book is a continuation of this series of grammars of particular dialects, and provides new information on Romani linguistics in general as well. It covers phonology, morphology, syntax, and interference.

The section on phonology gives precise information about the consonant system of this dialect in comparison with the consonant system of the Vlax dialects. The author presents the cases of palatalization of the velar and dental consonants /k/ and /d/ to /ts/ and /dz/. Further are shown the cases of palatalization of the consonants /st/, /st/, and /l/. Of the vowel system, attention is paid to the vowel /ə/ which is typical of words of Turkish origin.

In the section on morphology, attention is paid to the cases, to gender, to the different kinds of pronouns (personal, possessive, and demonstrative), to word formation, and in particular to verb formation.

In the third section the author gives information about sentence structure. In the Bugurdži dialect the word order can be Subject Verb Object, Subject Object

Hristo Kyuchukov is a linguist at the Ministry of Education, Bull. Dondukov 2, Sofia 100, Bulgaria.

Verb, Verb Subject Object, Verb Object, Subject, Object Subject Verb, or Object Verb Subject. He discusses the noun phrase, verb phrase, and adverbs in the sentence. He also presents the different conjunctions like *kaj*, *te*, *kana*, *sar*, *savo*, *savi*, *save*.

The final part of the book discusses interference in phonology, morphology, and grammar which the Bugurdži dialect underwent in contact with other Balkan languages (Greek, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, and Albanian).

An appendix includes a dictionary and texts. The book is very well structured and easy to read. One who knows a Romani dialect can understand the structure of Bugurdži. The author also exhibits a deep knowledge of other Balkan languages as well, for example Albanian, Greek, and Macedonian.

Boretzky's book presents new information about a dialect which had not been described up to now, and is a new step in Romani linguistics.

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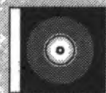
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- Rehfishch, Farnham, ed. 1975. *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers*. New York: Academic Press.
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